course of time. Besides China and India there is Japan. It is true that she was defeated in the second world war and that she was deprived of all her imperial possessions. But the country is being reconstructed. In any case no power on earth can suppress her for all time. Her revival has been found necessary by the United States. She is bound to become an important Asian power within a short period. Though in point of numbers of her population she does not occupy the same place as China and India, she has a superior role in the sphere of industry and in point of military efficiency. In another forty or fifty years' time the Asian continent is bound to become the political centre of the world just like Europe in the nineteenth century. There is then every possibility of the United States losing all that political importance which she possesses today. The tensions with which the contemporary world is faced are thus the outcome of the difficulty experienced by the nations of Western Europe and by the United States in reconciling themselves to an awakened Asia. The difficulty is all the greater as they have to face the prospect—which is not very remote—of an awakened Africa.

It may be incidentally noted that in contrast with these States of the West, Soviet Russia is in a favourable position. She is not an entirely European country. Her hold over Siberia is the result of natural expansion very similar to the expansion of the United States from the Alleghanies steadily towards the Pacific. Soviet Russia can therefore claim to be one of the Asian powers—like India, China and Japan.

THE TENSION IN EUROPE

The outcome of the second world war was a great disappointment to the United States and Great Britain. They were, of course, interested in destroying Hitlerism and preventing Germany from again becoming a great military and industrial power. But they were not prepared to welcome the establishment of Soviet suzerainty over Europe. This was in their view a much more dangerous phenomenon than the suzerainties attempted by Spain, France and Germany over that continent in the past. Territorially it had the possibility of bringing all Europe under the government of Russia, a thing which never happened before, and this would have enabled the Soviet to establish ascendancy over America also. In addition to this there was the Communism with its dictatorial and totalitarian form of government, and with its denial of the fundamental freedoms and rights as understood by the democracies of the West

which was bound to accompany Soviet suzerainty. To such an outcome the British and the Americans were not prepared to reconcile themselves.

Much of the international politics of the post-war world consists in the efforts made by the United States, in collaboration with Britain, to prevent the establishment of Soviet suzerainty over the whole of Europe and to limit it to the countries of Eastern and Central Europe which, owing to the shortsightedness of President Roosevelt, were left at the mercy of Stalin.

GERMAN REARMAMENT

There is no need to tell here the story of these efforts. The topic is referred to here as it is this that has made the discussions on the rearmament of Germany to become crucially important. The United States and Britain, along with most of their allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, were agreed that unless German armies became a part of the defence strength of Western Europe, as against any aggression from Soviet Russia, there was no chance whatever of such aggression being defeated. It was for this purpose that the European Defence Community was thought of. But here came the opposition from France. There was nothing surprising or unnatural in that opposition. Germany and France had been enemies for a thousand years. Till about 1860 France took advantage of a politically disunited Germany, inflicted many defeats on her and occupied several German regions. Things were reversed after 1860 when by successive wars under the leadership of Prussia—the last such war being the one waged against France herself in 1870–71—Germany became united under a single government, highly centralised, efficiently administered, with all attention concentrated on building the strongest continental army and a powerful navy. It was this united Germany armed to the hilt that inflicted disastrous defeats on France in the first and the second world wars. A nation which suffered such severe losses at the hands of Germans on three occasions within a period of eighty years cannot be expected to forget the serious consequences of a unified and rearmed Germany.

The French were naturally in a dilemma. They were, it is true to some extent, afraid of conquest by Russia and the establishment of a Communist regime over them. They knew that they could not save themselves from such a catastrophe out of their own efforts and that they required the help of the United States and Britain. But the price which the United States

in particular demanded for this help was French willingness to rearm Western Germany to a limited extent at least. A compromise formula was evolved for this purpose and it was on such a formula that the EDC was based. But the French nation could not reconcile themselves even to a limited rearmament of Germany. There were many among them who felt that a rearmed Germany would sooner or later embark on aggression—as was done by Hitler—and that France would once more become a victim to it. They thought that the danger from Russia was remote and that it may even be escaped by a policy of neutralism or non-alignment. Even today the French are not completely free from this dilemma: which is to them a greater danger, a Russian aggression or a German aggression? This was at the root of their opposition to EDC and they naturally rejected it.

This meant a severe blow to the United States in the plan which she has worked out for four years for the defence of Western Europe. It was equally a blow to Britain which felt that it might encourage American isolationism and bring Russian suzerainty over Europe nearer realisation. She, as well as the smaller States like Belgium and the Netherlands, knew full well that it was only the American leadership of the NATO and the defence strength that was built up with American help that checked Russian aggression. Though they believed in diplomacy and negotiation to a far greater extent than the United States did, they knew from experience that diplomacy would succeed only when backed up by effective strength. They were therefore resolved somehow to reconcile the French to the idea of re-arming Germany and at the Nine-Power London Conference, concluded in the first week of October, decisions were taken on this issue and all these decisions were agreed to by the French Premier Mendes-France.

These decisions were subsequently ratified by the French National Assembly. The French are therefore now committed to the West German Republic becoming a fully Sovereign State, to her raising a defence force of 500,000, subject to certain limitations in the matter of arms manufacture and equipment, and to her becoming a full and equal member of the NATO. What induced the French to agree to these decisions was primarily the willingness of the British to keep on the continent an army of 100,000 as a part of the Defence force of Western Europe for fifty years. In the opinion of the French this would be a guarantee of not only the British acting at all times in full concert with the democracies of Western Europe but also of their standing ready to stop German aggression. For the time being at least the French have

come to regard the threat from Soviet Russia as much more serious than that from a revived Germany.

It should not be inferred from this that the British are completely in favour of German rearmament. A certain section of the people — especially among those belonging to the Labour Party — are against it. They do not want to have the experience of Hitlerite war repeated. But the majority of the British think that the Soviet threat is more real and more imminent.

It has been the policy of Soviet Russia all these years — and it is still her policy — to create a split in the Western camp. She did much to influence French public opinion. She has also done much to influence German opinion Curiously there is division even among the Germans on this issue of their rearmament. Many do not like it. They are tired of wars. Many regard the question of the union of Germany — which is now partitioned into Western Germany leaning towards America, and Eastern Germany under Soviet control—as more urgent than rearmament, and if by giving up rearmament they can secure the unity of their country they are prepared to reject rearmament. This is just the policy to which Soviet Russia has been giving encouragement. She too, like France, is terribly afraid of a rearmed Western Germany. She is afraid also that a fully sovereign Western Germany with an army of her own, and contributing substantially to American strength in Western Europe, would use force for bringing East Germany into a united German State, and that would upset the territorial settlement made by her in respect of Poland and Czechoslovakia. There will be no end to the number of serious consequences that will follow — according to Soviet Russia—from the rearmament of Western Germany. She has therefore in recent days put forward fresh proposals for the union of Germany, provided that united Germany remains neutral in any war between the East and the West. The Americans, of course, rejected the proposal, as a neutral Germany is of no value to them.

Though the situation is still fluid there seems to be a certain prospect of Western Germany becoming a fully sovereign and rearmed State allied to the United States and fighting along her side, and along with the other members of the NATO, in a war of defence against Soviet Russia. But history shows that the line between defensive war and an aggressive war is very thin. And it is this that gives significance to the Nine-Power London Conference. The politics of Europe revolve round the problem of Germany, and for the present the partial solution of the problem

arrived at in the London Conference strengthens the West in the cold war against the East. What America lost at the Geneva Conference has been partially gained at the London Conference.

TRIESTE: THE BALKAN ALLIANCE

Two other events—though not of major importance—which have contributed similarly to the strength of the West may be noted. One is the settlement of the question of Trieste which has been for the last eight years a source of friction between Yugoslávia and Italy. Tito of Yugoslavia has been in these years coming closer to the West, and this has not been in any way affected by the reversal of the Soviet attitude towards him after the death of Stalin. The result is that both he and Italy listened to the advice from Britain and the United States and agreed to a partition of the City—the North going to Italy and the South to Yugoslavia. This could have been accepted years ago, but human psychology requires the healing force of time to adjust itself to new requirements. The other event is the conclusion of an alliance between Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. Of these the last two are members of the NATO, and the consequence is that Yugoslavia will get the help indirectly of the NATO forces in any defensive war it is likely to wage.

PHYSICAL VS. MORAL STRENGTH

There is an eternal controversy as to whether the enemy yields to superior physical strength or to superior intellectual and moral argument. There is no decisive answer to the question. History has very few examples of a State which is strong yielding to the force of intellectual and moral argument. It is only when such an argument is backed up by physical strength, in the shape of armies and navies, that it has a chance of success. Very rarely does right triumph by itself. For the victory of right, might is necessary. If Soviet Russia appears today to be more conciliatory than in the days of Stalin, it is due to a great extent to the defence-plans of the United States and her allies in Europe. The London Conference, the settlement regarding the question of Trieste, and the Balkan Triple Alliance referred to above are of significance from this point of view.

EGYPT AND THE MIDDLE EAST

It is a matter of gratification that the points at issue between Egypt and Britain in regard to the Suez Canal Zone have been finally settled. Britain yielded to Egypt on them and Egypt also showed a remarkable spirit of compromise. The British are now to evacuate the zone within twenty months; the military

installations however will be kept intact so that they can be used whenever necessary. Both countries have agreed to employ civilian personnel—British and Egyptian in fixed proportions—for this purpose. Egypt also agreed to British reoccupation of the zone if Egypt, Turkey or any of the members of the Arab League are attacked. In regard to Iran she remained adamant. Thus has been settled a longstanding question between the two countries and this will prove to be a stabilising factor in the Middle East. Stability will be further increased by the measures taken by the French Government under Mendes-France to grant autonomy to Tunisia. Both these mark important stages in the withdrawal of the West from Colonialism.

AWAKENING OF ASIA, INDIA AND THE U. S. A.

Reference has been made above to the awakening of Asia and to the rise of China and India to the rank of great powers. The West, however, — and especially the United States — has not reconciled itself to this new situation. As between India and the United States, there are two fundamental points of difference. One arises out of the inadequate recognition by the United States of the force of Asian nationalism. The help which she has rendered to France in the war in Indo-China is an instance in point. Her policies — especially in the matter of giving aid to Pakistan, bringing about a Turko-Pakistan pact (to which Iraq now proposes to adhere) and her persistence in organising a South East Asian Defence Treaty Organisation—have naturally created the impression that America is trying to step into the shoes of Western Imperial Powers (Britain, France etc.) in Asia. The situation is just like that in Central and South America when, in the early part of the nineteenth century, the colonies threw away the yoke of Spain and Portugal but were being threatened with the establishment of the yoke of France and other European powers which were still strong. It was then that America proclaimed her famous Monroe doctrine, which for more than a century has safeguarded the independence of the Central and South American Republics. The danger which India sees in American policies is similar to this. It may result in American Colonialism (Dollar imperialism) being substituted for European imperialism.

The other point of difference between India and the United States arises out of their attitudes towards international Communism and the means of combating it. The Americans hate Communism as the greatest danger confronting the 'free' world. They identify the Soviet and Chinese Governments with international

Communism and they are not prepared to come to any understanding with them. They want to carry on a holy world-crusade against it—which means against Soviet Russia and China, and their foreign policy is aimed wholly at the accomplishment of this objective. They are also not averse to undertake an atomic war for this purpose and they have been preparing for it. India's attitude, however, is quite different. She does not regard Communism as such a great danger. She is also not afraid of any country becoming Communist if it is the result of an internal revolution Moreover to her the issue in Asia is not Communism *versus* Democracy. The issue is primarily the eradication of poverty and a rise in the standard of life of the people. If this issue is solved—and America can contribute a great deal to its solution by concentrating on economic aid without attaching any political or military strings to it—Communism will automatically disappear.

Naturally India is opposed to the American policy of not recognising the Communist government of China or of seating that government in U. N. O. or throwing obstacles in the way of that government conquering Formosa. In India's view America should reconcile herself to the establishment of Communist government in China, just as in an earlier day she reconciled herself to Communist government in Soviet Russia. Nothing would be gained by being blind to reality. It would be most disastrous for America, for her allies, for China, for Asia and for the whole world for America to go on piling up arms to frighten Communist China or to later on wage a war against her. This will also bring China and Soviet Russia closer together which ought to be to the interest of the free world to prevent.

AMERICAN SUSPICIONS

But why does America persist in this holy crusade against Communism? Why do so many of the free countries help her in this enterprise? There is no space to go in full detail into this question. Reference to it has been made above in connection with the danger of Soviet suzerainty over Europe. There is, however, a smaller issue to which reference has to be made here. There is a genuine fear in the United States, and this fear is shared by very many sections of people in Asia, that if America and the West do not interest themselves in the politics of South-Asia, the States here—the smaller ones especially—which are not in a position to defend themselves will be easily absorbed into China in the case of South-East Asia and the Far East, into Soviet Russia in the case of the Middle East. They will become

satellites of these two big Communist powers. The withdrawal therefore of Western or American imperialism will not mean their freedom, independence and sovereignty but their dependence on China and Soviet Russia—the substitution of one imperialism by another. Such a fear is entertained in Thailand, in the Philippines and also in Iran, Turkey, Iraq etc. The conclusion that follows is that unless an understanding and an organisation of an international character came into existence with which the independence of these small States can be guaranteed, there can be no escape from Americans trying to fill in the power vacuum.

PANDIT NEHRU'S VISIT TO CHINA

It is in this context that the visit of Pandit Nehru to China assumes world significance. If he can get an understanding from China—an understanding of an effective character—that she would never cast her eyes on Indo-China, Indonesia, Thailand, Burma, Nepal and the Philippines, that she would not encourage any subversive movements in them, that she would not use the ten million Chinese residents in them to further her own purposes, there is then the prospect of an Asian settlement. It is on these points that there is suspicion.

It may be argued that China had already given a guarantee in respect of these matters by subscribing to the five principles included in the communiques issued after her Prime Minister's talks with the Prime Ministers of India and Burma. In a world where there is so much of disparity between word and deed, how are the nations to be convinced of the practical utility of these principles? After all they are not new. They are at the basis of the Charter of the United Nations to which sixty nations have subscribed. But are there not many States who have violated them and whose violations could not be remedied by the Security Council or the General Assembly? It now rests with Pandit Nehru to bring back with him some measures of a practical character under which the independence of Asian nations is guaranteed, not only against Western imperialism but also against Chinese and Soviet imperialism. This will place him among the greatest of statesmen of all times.

THE PRESS IN INDIA

By K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAU

(Memorandum to the Press Commission)

FUTURE OF PAPERS IN ENGLISH

The future of Indian newspapers and periodicals published in English presents an important problem. With the formation of linguistic States and the conduct of their administration in the regional languages, the influence of the language papers is bound to grow. The speeches in the State legislatures will be mostly in the local languages, and they will be reported with accuracy in the language papers while the papers in English will carry only summarised translations. Even in literary journalism, the leadership will rest with the periodicals published in the Indian languages. I do not, therefore, look forward to any further growth in the number or influence of the papers in English. But yet they have a vital role to play in inter-State and inter-National spheres. Ever after the 15-year limit set by the Constitution, English will continue to be employed in a large measure in those spheres. It will be taught compulsorily, as a language, in the higher forms of the High Schools and in Colleges. The Central Parliament will be bilingual — employing Hindi and English in nearly equal proportions. So too the Central Government and Judiciary. It is my belief that in every leading city of India there will be one or two first-rate dailies shaping public opinion in India and abroad, and setting up standards for the language papers to follow. Independent India must also find place for at least half-a-dozen Monthlies and Quarterlies with an all-India status, interpreting the regional cultures to other regions and other countries. In this particular field, they will serve as ambassadors of culture.

STANDARDS OF RECTITUDE

The pioneers of Indian journalism copied the example of their great contemporaries in England. Indeed, there could be no worthier models to follow. For centuries, the leading organs of public opinion in England battled for the right. They functioned as the tribunes of the people, and preserved the hard-won liberties. The work of the Press was thus complementary to that of the political

leaders who stood up for liberty of thought and expression. We have a similar story in India. Our fight for freedom was waged on many fronts; but the platform and the Press were the most important of them. India too has had her heroes in the field of journalism — her Malabaris and Ramananda Chatterjees, her Chintamanis and Rangaswami Iyengars. They were, to journalism what Gokhale and Gandhi were to national politics.

The men at the helm of a newspaper must be alert. They must be men of insight and vision who can grasp the inwardness of a situation, feel the pulse of the public, and body forth the yet unspoken thoughts of the masses of men. This is an instinct which is akin to genius, and every great Editor is something of a prophet too. And if he is utterly sincere and unselfish, he rarely goes wrong. He is able to function simultaneously as the reflector and guide of public opinion.

Every newspaper voluntarily imposes on itself certain restraints, so as not to transgress against God, or the State, or the reputation of individual wielders of power. Criticism, even strong criticism, is an inherent right, but the exercise of it is conditioned by the equal rights of others. Criticism of measures, rather than of men, must be the main objective, though it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between men and the measures they sponsor when in office. But it is a salutary rule to avoid the imputation of evil motives, unless the evidence is overwhelming.

THE PRESS AND THE STATE

A wise Government, wedded to the democratic tradition, will not seek to fetter the Press. Any restraints that it may be called upon to impose on the Press during a period of war or other great crisis, are of a temporary nature. But even in normal times, the State, in the interests of public order, has to enact laws applicable to the Press. Incitement to violence, the promotion of hatred between different sections of the public, and indulgence in obscenity, are some of the major evils a State has to guard against. In the case of a professed guardian of the public welfare like a democratic Press, a Government should exercise the greatest caution when bringing in legislation seeking to control the newspapers. It is not enough that popularly elected legislatures scrutinise such a Bill before it becomes law. The gentlemen of the Press must themselves be consulted, and charged with the duty of maintaining standards of conduct within

their profession. Violent and unbridled criticism is certainly an evil, but, in the effort to prevent it, even the right type of criticism is apt to be stifled. It is necessary to preserve freedom of expression, without giving rein to license. This becomes possible through an understanding between the representatives of the Press and the State.

MONEY POWER

But the freedom of the Press has implications other than the absence of restraints imposed by the State through legislation or executive orders. Where the Press is fast ceasing to be a vocation, and taking on the character of an industry, the influence of the money power may become a menace to the freedom of the Press. The fabulously rich industrialist is not content to ply his trade and enjoy the comfort that the possession of wealth brings with it He must acquire political power through getting his men elected to the legislatures, and, even more, through control over the Press. One way of controlling the Press is by owning a newspaper or chains of newspapers, and paying a competent staff to function as mouthpieces of his views on all matters of public interest. Another is to win over the Press through his power of patronage in the shape of advertisements on a huge scale. The money power works in insidious ways, and saps the vitality of the Press. Friends of democracy and champions of the people's right to a free Press, must devise means to protect the Press from the encroachments of the monied interests, quite as much as from encroachments by the State.

MASS-OPINION

Yet another danger to the Press arises from the impact of mass opinion. In their anxiety to give to the public what the public is supposed to want, the leaders in the world of Journalism unconsciously betray the true interests of that public. If the papers feed the public on sensation, the public acquires a taste for sensational news and for stories of violent crime. The taste grows on what is served. It is an unhealthy sign when the Press of a country panders to an ignorant public, and sinks to the level of sensation-mongers. The truth is that large elements in a nation's life are fundamentally sound Their instincts are healthy. The Press is not called upon to stray from the straight path, and corrupt the public taste. All writing meant for the public must be bright, lively, and interesting But there is no need, acting on wrong assumptions of popular requirements, to vulgarise journalism.

LAY-OUT

The presentation of news in proper form is a great aid to the busy reader. But sometimes the lay-out and headlines are given too much prominence. In the search for smart and sensational headlines, a wrong twist is given to the news. For instance, some newspapers have developed the habit of giving what are called 'streamer' headlines. Anyone can see that events of outstanding significance like the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi or the inauguration of the Indian Republic do not happen every day. By racking your brains for the wording of a streamer headline from day to day, you are obliged to give undue importance to ordinary occurrences, just because there must be some kind of a thundering headline. Even in the disposition of the news over the columns on a single page, some papers present the appearance of a zig-zag puzzle. Such featuring is a hindrance rather than a help to the reader. It confuses him and even misleads him with regard to the significance of the news items.

CROSS–WORD PUZZLES

An enterprising circulation manager is not content with enlisting subscribers and selling copies through agencies. To him, that is just 'normal' business. He must be on the look-out for abnormal ways of increasing his sales. Some papers run competitions of cross-word puzzles. There may be many ways of solving the puzzle, and one solution is as good as another; but the money prizes, running into four or five figures, can be won only by those fortunate individuals whose solutions tally exactly with the particular solution arrived at by the office of the paper, or come nearest to it. Here is something of a gamble, and every aspirant sends in a number of solutions, hoping that at least one of them might approximate to the all-correct one. And for this purpose, he has to purchase a number of copies of the paper, which obviously he does not read. All these methods are really extraneous to the main purpose of journalism—the dissemination of news and the shaping of opinion. There is a growing volume of discontent against such methods, and some Governments have sought to prohibit them.

ADVERTISEMENTS

The income from the circulation of copies is never sufficient to maintain a paper. In fact, it rarely covers more than thirty to forty per cent of the cost of production. The rest of the cost, and the profits, must come from a steady flow of revenue from advertisements. The tendency for the newspapers is to

placate the business interests to which they look for support. It would not be correct to say that they are the 'slaves' of the leading advertisers, but they must manage somehow to keep on friendly terms with them.

The daily newspapers come in for the lion's share of patronage, while important periodicals devoted to culture, and struggling against odds, receive scant attention. The big advertisers have sometimes been told that the number of readers of these high-class journals is far in excess of the actual circulation figures, and that the type of reader to whom they cater has a superior purchasing power. But these arguments carry no conviction. The only instances in which a departure is made are those of certain weeklies or monthlies published in the Indian languages. In spite of their limited circulation, the advertisers have to reckon with them, if they wish to cover a particular corner of the country.

THE WORKING JOURNALIST

The tendency in recent years has been to exaggerate the value of the technical and business staff, and underrate the services of the real makers of a newspaper or journal. I refer to the Editor-in-chief, the heads of the various sections of the editorial department, and the host of assistant-editors and sub-editors and correspondents, without whose active co-operation no journal of high quality can be produced. The framework of technicians and business managers is indeed necessary for the successful functioning of a newspaper. But ultimately it is the quality of the writing that tells. The editorial staff write out valuable stuff dealing with the main problems of the day, in addition to putting into shape the huge mass of manuscripts passing through their hands. It is they, again, who keep in touch with the progress of knowledge in various fields, and send out requests for special articles to persons who have mastered their subjects and can write with clarity. The editorial staff which thus wins special distinction for a paper is not usually rewarded in an adequate measure. Comparing their emoluments with those enjoyed by men of similar ability and equipment in the permanent services of a State or in the realms of law, industry and finance, one notes with regret the shabby treatment accorded to these talented persons, who not only reflect public opinion, but shape and guide it. The journalists of modern India have learnt to look upon their profession as something of a mission. Their zeal is so great that they make light of hardships. To them, journalism is not just a trade or an occupation. And yet, it is hardly fair to discount their services and take

advantage of their idealism. This is an aspect of journalism, on its business side, which has not received the attention it deserves. The working journalists, like the lecturers in our colleges and Universities, are among the lowest paid intellectuals in any land. In different ways, these are the educators of the nation, and it is only the consciousness of service rendered with devotion which sustains them in difficult moments.

CULTURAL PERIODICALS

Politics and economics play a large part in a nation's life under modern conditions. But they do not exhaust a nation's wide range of interests. Art and literature, sport and pastime, science and industry, philosophy and religion, appeal in varying degrees to large sections of the public. The leading newspapers always recognise this position, and devote space to items of interest bearing on these topics. But it is to the weeklies and the monthlies that the public must turn for fuller treatment of these subjects. These periodicals are produced at greater leisure; the writers have more time to collect their material and present it in an attractive manner. They are like a half-way house between the daily papers produced at top-speed, and the volumes of learned treatises which take years to write. The periodicals cater to a select, but cultivated group of readers. They thus influence the opinions of those who in their turn influence the general public. It is to the growth of the periodicals that we must look for the evolution of an independent, cultured, and educative type of journalism. Appraisal of new movements in painting and sculpture, criticism of the stage and screen, reviews of poetry and fiction, disquisitions on contemporary science and current trends in politics and philosophy, will appeal to a cultured audience. Periodicals can be so edited as to serve as extension schools.

A WORD ABOUT 'TRIVENI'

'Triveni' was born on the 25th of December 1927. Twenty-five years is a long period, and Indian journals which have completed it are very few indeed. In the case of 'Triveni' one could never foretell how long it would last; so, when it survived the first year, friends heaved a sigh of relief and welcomed the event as something of a phenomenon. The journal grew in years and in beauty, while there was a progressive decline in my ability to finance it. I ran through some borrowed capital, and then sold bits of ancestral property. Finally, I sought the co-operation of friends like Sri K. Chandrasekharan and the late Justice V. Govindarajachari to raise life-subscriptions and dona-

tions at frequent intervals to cover the mounting annual deficits. Then came the troublesome days of the partial evacuation of Madras for fear of bombing during the second world war. 'Triveni' then migrated to Bangalore and found a home for seven years, under the guardianship of Sri Masti Venkatesa Iyengar and the new Associate Editor, Sri K. Sampathgiri Rao. Today 'Triveni' is being published as a Quarterly from Masulipatam, having been by turns a two-monthly, a monthly, a quarterly, and again a monthly.

In recent years, several journals of this type have disappeared for lack of financial support. This will affect adversely the cultural life of the country, and a national Government interested in culture must come to the rescue of such journals. But if high standards are to be maintained, the subventions or grants should be "without any strings," and similar to the grants to Universities and societies for scientific research. A periodical might not make a profit nor even pay its way, from its subscription and advertisement revenue. And yet it might uphold values which are of the utmost significance to the future of the nation and of humanity. The Commission can suggest ways and means to strengthen this section of the Indian Press.

REVIEWS

My Public Life : Recollections and Reflections: by Sir Mirza Ismail. (Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Sh. 18)

The task of writing a biography, particularly an autobiography, is a difficult and delicate one which only the most gifted can accomplish with any measure of success. Sir Mirza Ismail may well derive an author's proud satisfaction over the success that has attended his fine effort. It is indeed a happy idea that prompted him, in response to the wish of numerous friends, not only in India but scattered over three continents, to record some phases of his long and eventful career in the form of a book, which, both for its charm and contents, must rank high in the biographical (and autobiographical) literature of India. There is however one regret which every reader would feel, namely that it is not longer than it is. But Sir Mirza chose otherwise, desiring that his readers should wish for more rather than less. And thus we have what is a model of a short autobiography which affords not only intellectual pleasure but something also of political education. It certainly makes no small "contribution to the history of the sub-continent in the momentous first half of the twentieth century".

Sir Mirza's name is associated with several administrative achievements in the States of Mysore and Jaipur. It is the fortune of few men to have a career so prolonged, so active and so uniformly successful as that given to this distinguished statesman. In the conduct of the administration of these two States he enjoyed almost plenary power. Persian by descent and Mysorean by birth, he had the unique advantage of having been brought up and educated along with the Prince who was later to be Ruler of the State and of winning alike his friendship and confidence in an unusual degree.

With the active support of the Maharaja always assured, he carried out those brilliant reforms which contributed so much to the glory and prosperity of the State. There is perhaps no other instance of such splendid collaboration for the good of a State in the whole of India than that between Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja

Wadiyar and Dewan Sir Mirza Ismail. "Whatever success I may have had as Dewan, I owe to the confidence, sympathy and guidance of him whom we all revered so profoundly, and who till the other day was striving with us in the difficult task of raising the status of our country — I refer, of course, to His Late Highness," wrote Sir Mirza to the present reviewer sometime after the demise of the great Ruler, who to him was an object of sacred veneration and whose death was the greatest sorrow he had known in life.

During the fifteen years of his Dewanship, Mysore made phenomenal progress in all directions. Within less than five years of his taking charge, Mysore had come to be regarded as industrially the most advanced, and politically the most progressive, State in all India, and a pattern even for British India to copy. So prosperous indeed was Mysore in 1940 that a visitor returning from the State remarked to the writer that politically he could wish for nothing more than that India should become an enlarged Mysore, and added, "Sir Mirza Ismail is an incomparable statesman who can give lessons in statecraft even to the best brains of England and Europe." It was about this time that Viscount Samuel, no mean judge of men, hailed him as the finest statesman of the British Empire. When some months later Sir Mirza suddenly resigned his high position, there was a chorus of tributes from every quarter of the country. "He leaves behind," wrote one, "not only a model of an Indian State but also an example of Indian statesmanship," and very feelingly added, "Mvsore may have many a Dewan in the future as it had in the past, but it will not have a Sir Mirza Ismail again."

So rich an experience and such high gifts as Sir Mirza's could not naturally remain neglected for long. A pressing invitation came to him from the young Maharaja of Jaipur to accept the Prime-Ministership of his State. At Jaipur, during the four years of his stay, Sir Mirza almost did wonders. His active mind and boundless zeal would not allow a day to be lost and he applied himself to the task before him at once. Reconstruction, new parks, new buildings, restorations and improvements of all kinds, besides the overhauling of the entire administration, were carried on at an amazing speed, so much so, the city of Jaipur fast changed its appearance and began to pulsate with a new life. In spite of his numerous activities, Sir Mirza found time to inaugurate constitutional reforms and to formulate a scheme for the establishment of the Rajputana University which was later to come into being. In the words of Cecil Beaton his plans were as numerous as his inspirations. The Maharaja had Sir

Mirza's great aims in mind when he gave expression to the hope, in one of his speeches, that by whatever alchemy it may be, what were then but arid wastes would ere long change into smiling greens of plenty. Sir Mirza was working for this end. But before all that he wanted could happen, he received a call from the Nizam, who was then facing a crisis, to help him in his administration. It was by no means easy to refuse the offer, for it was not for the first time that it was made. Twice before—the first time eighteen years previously—he had a similar offer from the Nizam, but he declined it without hesitation because his single-minded devotion to the Maharaja (Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar) would not permit him even to consider it. Sir Mirza was singularly free from that ambition which is often the spur of lesser men. At every stage he subordinated his personal advantage to the claims of public duty. And so, while the Maharaja was anxious that he should stay, and the public equally so, he chose to say goodbye to Jaipur with the conviction that one should say 'enough' to oneself before others said it. Even more important than to know when to catch an opportunity is to know when to forego an advantage.

There can be no two opinions about the appropriateness of Sir Mirza's appointment to the Prime-Ministership of Hyderabad. He went there with great hopes and ambitions, and in a spirit of dedication. He was anxious, among other things, to make Hyderabad "a centre of Eastern culture and civilisation, of intellectual activity and of common harmony," and "to achieve for it that moral and material pre-eminence which is her due." It is indeed highly interesting to know something of the good work done, as told by the author himself. Writes Sir Mirza:

> "When at the Headquarters, I set apart two mornings in the week for interviews with all and sundry, as I had done in Mysore, also in Jaipur. It was a very taxing duty, as can easily be imagined — seeing dozens of people, each with his request or grievance. But it was worthwhile. It satisfied the public as nothing else could, and I know of no better method of checking corruption among officials. In Mysore, while I was at the head of the administration, corruption was practically non-existent. In Jaipur, too, it had come under control. In Hyderabad, people began to feel that a new freedom had dawned upon them, and officials were much more courteous and considerate to the public than before. All this was a direct result of the Head of the administration

being so easily accessible to the public. I saw from two to three hundred people on each of the two mornings. A report reached the Nizam's ears that his Prime Minister was busy holding 'durbars' twice a week in his office! I assured him that I was not seeking self-aggrandisement but was toiling for him and his people."

But the great hopes of Sir Mirza were not destined to be fulfilled, and after the withdrawal of the British control he found it impossible to stay any longer in Hyderabad, on account of the vigorous and "calculated campaign of vilification" against him by the Ittihad-ul-Mussulmeen which had the backing and financial support of even some members of the Cabinet. On returning to Bangalore for the summer recess, and acting on a certain intuition that is always his strength, he tendered his resignation to the Nizam in a letter which he addressed him on May 15, 1947 wherein he uttered the first warning of the deepening crisis. "The intrigues and agitations to which I refer," wrote Sir Mirza, "are, I firmly believe, directed as much against the interests of Your Exalted Highness as against myself. But, while a word from you would have stopped the campaign at once, you have maintained silence, and the agitators have given the impression that they enjoy Your Exalted Highness's goodwill and patronage."

It must be mentioned here that Mr. Jinnah was vehemently opposed to the appointment of Sir Mirza as Prime Minister of Hyderabad, for the only possible reason that the latter, in spite of several approaches, refused to join the Muslim League. Jinnah moved earth and heaven to prevent his appointment. He first telegraphed to the Nizam, "exhorting him not to appoint Sir Mirza and threatening him with dire consequences if he disregarded his advice." And later, when the appointment was about to be made, he rushed to Hyderabad to see the Nizam himself and make a determined effort to stop him from proceeding further. The account of the fateful interview that took place between the Nizam and Jinnah is vividly set forth in the pages of the autobiography and should be read in its entirety, alike for its exciting interest and its dramatic effect.

Even after his retirement Sir Mirza continued his endeavours to find a solution to the Hyderabad problem. Finding the situation becoming worse, he wrote to the Nizam urging him in strong terms to come to a settlement with the Indian Government before it was too late, and offered to mediate in his behalf, and even went to Delhi on that mission. In this connection, in

the words of Sri C. Rajagopalachari, the then Governor-General, he "played a noble part and it will go down in history." But the Nizam, who was at the time "more or less a prisoner in his palace and unable to act independently," allowed the supreme opportunity to be lost, thus making the police action a compelling necessity to put down the growing Razakar menace. The conclusion is irresistible that Sir Mirza went to Hyderabad perhaps too late to be able to save the Nizam. Had he gone there a few years earlier, he would have had a personal hand in the shaping of some of the most momentous developments in contemporary Indian history.

With his return from Hyderabad, Sir Mirza may be said to have virtually retired from public life, the short time which he spent in Jakarta as United Nations Technical Adviser to Indonesia being a sort of epilogue. Great as Sir Mirza is as statesman, he is not less great as a man. A meticulous sense of honour governs all his actions, and he has set to himself a high standard of public duty and personal exactitude which he never even once compromised. In the ranks of Indian public men there are few who are more deservedly esteemed for culture, character and public service. He is an Indian first and last. A great apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity, he has throughout been strongly opposed to the Muslim League and resolutely kept himself away from it, unmindful of Jinnah's serious displeasure, and the consequences of that displeasure. As an example of moral courage there is not, in the political literature of recent times, anything comparable to Sir Mirza's letter to Jinnah, the all-powerful leader of Muslim India, written when the latter urged him to join the Muslim League:

> "You invite me to join the Muslim League. You will no doubt realise my life-long association with a Hindu Maharaja and my long service in a Hindu State, where I have received the most loyal co-operation from my Hindu fellow-citizens throughout my official career, prevent me from identifying myself with a political organisation which is avowedly anti-Hindu in its aims and objects."

In the early thirties, Sir Mirza played an outstanding part at the Round Table Conference which he attended as the representative of Mysore and the South Indian States of Travancore, Cochin and Pudukottah. He was a proponent of Federation and exerted his undoubted influence to persuade the more conservative States too to agree to the scheme. He had even hopes that there

might one day be a vast Federation consisting of India, Burma, Nepal and even Ceylon. "But this sub-continent," says he, "was destined to meet with a sadly different fate."

"Life without industry is a guilt, and industry without art is brutality," runs a Ruskinian maxim. Sir Mirza has both the passion for industry and an extraordinary taste for art. He is, as is well known, a great builder with an abiding love for construction, renovation and beautification. Fountains and flowers are his delight. The myriad-lighted fountain at Bangalore which he constructed out of a donation given by the Maharani of Bhajanj is said to be one of the most wonderful in the East. Gardening is his recreation and he allows himself to be completely absorbed in it. "I can contrive to make myself happy within my house," he naively replied to a correspondent who ventured to refer to a current rumour about a high appointment offered to him—which shows the great yet modest man he is.

The book, which has both charm and balance, is of sustained interest. Written in a racy and luminous style, it abounds in fine anecdotes, rich observations and wise reflections. His estimates of men are equally interesting. These for instance. His Late Highness the Maharaja of Mysore he considers to be among the greatest in Indian history, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the finest type of an Indian and a model for young India to copy, and the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, the most polished of Indian speakers. Mr. Jinnah, according to him, was in agreement with no one, not even with his own Muslim delegation. He had his own views and obstinately stuck to them.

The regret is keenly felt in some quarters, and widely shared by many in India, that the services of so gifted a statesman and so great an administrator are not harnessed to the service of the country. Some have been even puzzled at this absurdity. The clue to this is to be found partly in Sir Mirza's own reluctance to hold any office, having once for all retired from active public life, and partly in a very revealing passage in the book. "In an article I contributed to *The Times* in May, 1949," says Sir Mirza, "I had criticised Sardar Patel for his policy towards the States, which I characterised as 'ruthless'. He seems to have resented this very much. *Democratic autocrats* are hard to please I do not suppose the other members of the Cabinet relished my remarks, either. I do not remember exactly what I said in certain letters to my friends, but I must have given expression to my views in a manner too frank to please them. I have in my life practised very few

economies of truth in the expression of my opinion, and this habit has got me into trouble sometimes, both with the British Government of India and the present Government in Delhi."

But if there is any one person who least regrets this attitude of apathy on the part of the Government of India, it is Sir Mirza himself. He neither entertains any ill-will nor witholds his admiration where it is due, and the book contains no finer tribute than that which Sir Mirza so whole-heartedly pays to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, who according to him, is "by every test one of the greatest men of this country. The directing Head of by far the largest numerical unit in the 'free world' he has rached heights of responsible statesmanship and world influence without parallel in modern history...He is the architect of the influential position his Motherland occupies in world affairs, and has used it to promote and ensure peace."

K. KAMESWARA PRASAD

The Vidushaka: Theory and Practice : By J. T. Parikh (Sarvajanik Education Society, Surat. Pages 50; Price Re. 1)

If Drama is but a "representation of the play of human feelings and emotions," the Vidushaka, the boon companion of the hero in love, stands for all that is comic and farcical in human nature, and is the main source of comic relief in Samskrit dramas with Sringara for the dominant sentiment. It was even believed by some that this feature of the Samskrit Drama influenced European dramatists in their representation of fools and jesters. Says Pischel, "the Vidushaka is the original of the buffoon who appears in the plays of Medieval Europe."

Sri Parikh in this paper describes almost all the aspects of the Vidushaka's character in theory and practice, after making a critical study of all the available Samskrit dramas and books on dramaturgy, such as Bharata's 'Natyasastra' and Saradatanaya's 'Bhavaprakasa'.

According to the author the Vidushaka, in practice, is a degraded young Brahmana and his monkey-like appearance and crowfooted head (*Kakapada sirsha*) are not germane to him but only the results of make-up and masks. The crooked staff he carries with him is a branch of a tree. He employs obscene language and is usually confronted by a maid in repartee. A comic character to start with, the Vidushaka developed into a full-fledged hero of the farcical episode in the later popular stage drama.

The author agrees generally with Dr. Keith, to whose remarks in his "Samskrit Drama" about the Vidushaka, this book forms an elucidative commentary. He profusely quotes from all Samskrit texts to illustrate his points and in the Appendix are given theoretical texts on the Vidushaka.

Here in this essay, for the first time, all the available material pertaining to the Vidushaka is presented in an interesting and critical manner, with some fresh problems raised for future study.

B. KUTUMBA RAO

The Saugar University Journal 1953-54; Vol. I, No. 3, Part I: Arts Section.

The Saugar University is one of the youngest of the Indian Universities. It is no doubt one of the chief functions of a University to promote, organise and carry on independent investigation. But a University should be a centre of learning in which different branches of learning are pursued by specialists in them with equal zest, and a University journal should reflect the intellectual atmosphere in which all the branches of knowledge in it are adequately represented.

Moreover, in the journal of a residential University with well-organised Post-Graduate and Research Departments in various subjects, one naturally expects evidence of association of the students of the advanced classes with their professors in their original work, and of an attempt at independent investigation on their part, though perhaps under the guidance and with the inspiration of their professors.

It is remarkable that the 100 pages of this volume should be convered by half a dozen articles, all by the members of the staff of the University, and as many as four of them of the English Department and devoted mostly to literary criticism in English, and only one or two to historical studies and none to philosophy or any social science.

But this one defect apart, the selection of the subjects, the scholarship and critical acumen brought to bear upon them, and the spirit of genuine appreciation and sympathetic interpretation and independent investigation revealed in the criticism of the Odes of Keats and Meredith and the Analysis of Aesthetic Experience deserve unqualified commendation and lift the journal far above the level of University and College magazines.

M. S. K.

TELUGU

Andhra Puranamu: By Madhunapantula Satyanarayana Sastry. (Publisher: M. Suraya Sastri, Pallipalem (via) Yanam, East Godavari Dt., P. 215, Price Rs. 3)

This is a novel type of literary composition, presenting the history of the Andhras in a poetic form. The title constitutes a claim, worthy of the consideration of modern historians, that our Puranas of old were designed to serve, and as a matter of fact actually served, the national purpose of presenting the significant events in the history of the race in a poetic and popular form. The present volume, as it has taken shape, consists practically of a series of poems, each dealing with a significant event or crisis in the history of the Andhras, taking the word 'history' in a wide sense to include authoritative tradition as well as authentic history.

Of the poetic merits and literary excellence of the composition no less a judge than the fastidious poet, Sri Viswanatha Satyanarayana, expresses enthusiastic appreciation in his Foreword. Of the faithfulness of the presentation to the facts of history as ascertained and accepted by modern historians, the approving review in the Introduction by the renowned research scholar in South Indian History, Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, constitutes an equally authoritative encomium The author's attempt to popularise the history of the Andhras and impress on the general reading public the lessons and significance of the past, seems quite well-timed at this juncture of the inauguration of a separate State for the Andhras in the Indian Union in which they hope to find scope for full and rapid realisation of their potentialities and destiny. The value of the volume to the lay public, especially those unacquainted with the English language and denied regular instruction in History in the schools and colleges, is unquestionable. Even to the educated, its value is bound to be considerable, as an authoritative and continuous history of the Andhras through the ages is yet to be constructed. The present volume brings the history down to the Kakatiya period only. Readers will naturally look forward with eagerness to the companion volume dealing with the subsequent history of the Andhras up-to-date.

M. SIVAKAMAYYA

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BHAVARAJU NARASIMHA RAO
AT TRIVENI PRESS, MASULIPATAM

MY PUBLIC LIFE By Mirza Ismail (Allen and Unwin, 18s).

What is one to make of an attitude which proppounds so romantic and private a view of the past as to say. "The people were certainly happier than they are at present. To say that India is now a more united, a more homogeneous and a more powerful country than it was in the British days before the disappearance of the princely states is a claim which certainly errs on the side of exaggeration"? Or of an incident when Mr Ismail's reaction to a severe "dressing down" from Lord Willingdon ("Don't do it again my dear fellow") for his public and considered reference to the Mahatma's leadership was "I said I would not, since I had no desire to offend him in any way"? Or, again, of a book which throughout mis-spells the name of Mr Patel and says that Mr Nehru has been much influenced by his years at Harrow, Cambridge and the *Middle Temple?*

There is much to annoy in these reminiscences of Mr Mirza Ismail who, on his own admission, has been a bureaucrat all his life It is pity that having recorded his opposition to the division of India, he does not explain why the creation of Pakistan "has made the position of the Muslim community within the Republic of India numbering some 40 millions, extremely difficult and embarrassing' Without giving a single instance of how Muslims in India can be regarded as second-class citizens he says 'One can only hope that the tendency to treat the Muslims as aliens in their own land will give place to friendship and trust" Mr Ismail is hardly convincing when, having earlier reproduced his lengthy correspondence with Mr Jinnah on their differing view-points on Pakistan and allied topics, he concludes "The ultimate responsibility for the partition can fairly be laid at the door of the Congress, and not that of Mr Jinnah" Leaving aside the question of historical truth, such a transfer of Pakistan's paternity cannot even please its citizens Also, these unauthenticated and perhaps unpremeditated statements cannot but distress Mr. Ismail's friends

Yet there is much to charm, interest and instruct in *My Public Life.* Mr Ismail's work for Mysore in the field of industry, education, public health and social amenities borders on a legend This tidying process was continued in Jaipur, only to be frustrated by the British Mr Ismail's spell in Hyderabad was shorter still, but his record of the difficulties there will be prized by all students of recent history. The book is full of anecdotes and incidents, and of friends remembered with warmth. On one point, moreover, every reader of this valuable and alternatively absorbing and exasperating book will agree with Mr. Ismail: "We in India, I fear, are prone to concentrate attention on spectacular schemes to the neglect of less ambitious things which might be of more direct benefit to the country."

The Times of India
Sept 19, 1954

ON MY BOOKSHELF - REVIEW ON THE A.I.R., BOMBAY, ON 6-9-54.

(By Prof. M. P. Gandhi)

Each of the 3 books I have for review today is fascinating in its own way. I will first take Sir Mirza Ismail's book entitled "MY PUBLIC LIFE - RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS".

Sir Mirza Ismail has given a very readable, interesting and entertaining account of his various public activities which have extended for a period of over four decades. As he observes in the second chapter of his book, he had the benefit of receiving first class training in Bangalore due to his admission to the Mysore Maharaja's special class of 9 boys, and as a perusal of the latter pages abundantly reveals, he has turned this period of special training to excellent advantage, both for the country and himself. He ingratiated himself to the Maharaja of Mysore, and at the earliest opportunity he was offered the post of Dewan in the Mysore State in 1926, when he was only 42. He held this post with unique distinction for a period of 15 years, and as anyone who has had an opportunity of visiting Mysore State some time can easily say, he transformed the face of Mysore by his wisdom, farsightedness, energy, and complete identification with the welfare of the State, of which he was himself a resident.

He has publicly acknowledged how deep was his debt to the Maharaja for his progressive outlook and the freedom with which he let him apply himself to the cause of improvement of the State in a variety of ways. Until the integration of the various Indian States as a part of India, Mysore could easily claim to have been the most beautiful and the most progressive of States, much in advance of the other States, in the matter of education, constitutional reforms, provision of amenities of life for the people, development of roads, establishment of gardens and public places of amusement, provision of canals for irrigation, electricity for development of industries and industrial progress, the State sponsoring no less than 25 different industries, including Steel, Cement, Paper, Sugar, Aircraft, Glass, Silk, Gold Mines, Textiles, etc.

Sir Mirza always had an artist's eye and developed the natural resources of the State in a manner which attracted universal attention both of the visitors from the country and from abroad. Even for the tourist and visitor, Mysore had exceptionally good sights to offer, and it was at its best during Dasara, when a large number of visitors were invited to enjoy the beauty and pageantry of the State. For the

comfort of visitors to the State, excellent hotels were set up at Bangalore, Mysore and other places, and delightful bungalows were also provided at the various hills, at the Krishnarajasagar, Jog Falls and Sivasamudram. It was, therefore, understandable that a high British Officer told the Maharaja of Mysore that if he was asked to select 50,000 square miles of the most attractive part of India, his choice would most certainly fall on the State of Mysore. This State has had the most beautiful scenery of nature and a pattern of well organised, methodical and beneficient state administration, due in no small measure to the vigilant care and concern of Sir Mirza Ismail.

It is remarkable that in order to maintain the very ancient traditions, he continued to reserve the Sanskrit College in Mysore exclusively for the students of the Brahmin community, and in order to meet the opposition to the reservation of a public institution, maintained from public revenues, for the benefit of a single community, he established another Sanskrit College in Bangalore which was open to all Hindu students. This, he says, he did, as he realised that he was serving a Hindu State, and a Maharaja who was the embodiment of all that is best in Hindu religion and culture. And he felt that one pleased the Almighty even more by serving other faiths than one's own; What a catholicity of outlook, all too rare in these days!

An example of his farsightedness in providing amenities in the towns and in the country will be seen when it is remembered that he made provision for plentiful water supply in Bangalore, by building the new Chamaraj Reservoir, which can be depended upon to supply 9 million gallons daily, even if the monsoon should fail for 3 years in succession. What a contrast this, to the plight in which Madras found itself in 1952, when its water supply failed?

Having left Mysore, Sir Mirza took up an appointment in Jaipur as Prime Minister, and due to his ability in persuading the officials in the Political Department of the then Government at Delhi, he was able to achieve far-reaching reforms in that State, too, during his period of 5 years.

Sir Mirza Ismail's great hobby was to construct beautiful and artistic buildings, and in spite of opposition he achieved his purpose in putting up such buildings, and in saving some of the most attractive and ancient buildings in places under his charge. He was also instrumental in instituting constitutional reforms in the Jaipur State. His most remarkable achievement in Jaipur is the foundation of the University of Rajputana, which will remain as a monument of his genius. A very memorable remark which Sir Mirza has made in the chapter of his book on Jaipur says "having received the offer of appointment in Hyderabad State, I felt that I must endeavour to help the Nizam in facing

what one could foresee, would be a difficult, perhaps exciting, future." In any case, I had resolved to say goodbye to Jaipur, acting on the advice of Sadi, "Say 'enough' to yourself before others say it to you." "I thought I must go when people were anxious that I should stay!" It is a pity that such golden precept is more observed today in its breach than practice!

In the chapter on Hyderabad, Sir Mirza refers to the numerous difficulties that came his way in improving the situation in that State, but this happened because he had gone there when it was almost too late. The stature of his mind and broad outlook are visible, however, from an incident during the period of his work in Hyderabad. When he was Prime Minister in Hyderabad, considerable pressure was brought on him by Jinnah to join the Muslim League. Sir Mirza told him clearly that he could not join the Muslim League without forswearing his past, and added that as so many of his dearest friends were Hindus, it was quite impossible for him to enter an organisation which was anti-Hindu in its policy and aims. It is one of the major regrets of his otherwise happy and brilliant life that although there was enormous amount of work to be done in Hyderabad, which could have become a wonderful country, his ambition was not destined to be fulfilled, as the Nizam was bent upon independence after the withdrawal of British control, and as he felt that it was not a proper course for him to take, he asked the Nizam to relieve him of his office.

Even after giving up the employ of the Nizam he offered him such help as he could from outside, but he did not succeed, and Sir Mirza explains poignantly that it was due to the usual story of small men in high places, which inevitably spells disaster in the end.

The author has very sound views to offer on Democracy in general. He has also some very candid remarks to put forward on the general standard of administration, increase of public expenditure, etc., which deserve careful consideration.

Sir Mirza has had a very eventful life and extensive opportunities of making striking reforms in multifarious directions during his long tenure of office. A perusal of his book leaves a definite impression that in view of what he has accomplished, he can look back peacefully over many years of happy public life. It is, I feel, an entirely wise decision that he has now made, again unfortunately too rare, that it is better to observe and comment rather than to accept the many invitations he receives to take up further responsibilities in his own country or elsewhere, after such a long and distinguished career.

Frank and forthright, this charmingly written autobiography of a statesman of high repute, enjoying close friendship with a large circle of officials and non-officials throughout the world, makes very interesting and welcome reading.

ارشاد بندگان عالی

(متعلق سر مرزا اسمٰعیل)

ان کو مین کم و بیش (۲۰) سال سے جانتا ہون جبکہ مین چہلداپ میسور آنجہانی کی دعوت پر میسور و منگلور گیا تھا جہان میری بڑی آؤ بھگت (Reception) کی گئی تھی اوس وقت یہ وہان دیوان تھے اس مین شک نہین کہ میسور اور بڑودہ جیسے پورا سٹیٹ (State) مین جہان یہ کارگزار تھے۔ ان کے خدمات مستحسن رہے تھے مگر سب کے آخر مین جب یہ بحیثیت پریزیڈنٹ کونسل حیدرآباد آئے تو اوس وقت یہان کی پولٹیکل فضا (political atmosphere) بدقسمتی سے ان کے لئے سازگار نہین تھی۔ اور اس پر طرہ یہ کہ برٹش گورنمنٹ کا دور حکمرانی ہندوستان مین ختم ہو رہا تھا۔ نظر برین میرا خیال ہے کہ یہ اگر ایسا نہ ہوتا یا دو یا تین سال کا مزید زمانہ مرزا صاحب کو مل جاتا تو یہ ضرور کچھ نہ کچھ (چاہے اس قلیل مدت مین ہی کیون نہ ہو) قابل قدر خدمات حیدرآباد کے کرکے اپنا نام بطور یادگار یہان بھی چھوڑتے جیسا کہ وہ مذکورہ ریاستون مین چھوڑا تھا۔ بہت سے پوزیشن کے اصحاب جن سے ان کو ذاتی شناسائی تھی ان کو وقت کی نظر سے دیکھتے تھے اور ان کے کارنامہ کو سراہا تھا۔ اس کے علاوہ برٹش گورنمنٹ کے ایماء و منظوری سے یہان ان کا تقرر ہوا تھا جبکہ (Sir Arthur Lothian) برٹش رزیڈنٹ تھے۔ میرا ذاتی خیال ہے کہ یہ آزاد مشرب ہونے کی وجہ سے بہت سے تنگ نظر افراد ان کو مشتبہ نظر سے دیکھتے تھے حالانکہ جو ذاتی صفات ان کے تھے اوس پر نظر نہین تھی۔ اور ہوتی تو کیسے۔ جبکہ خود آزاد مشربی سے وہ محروم تھے۔ بہرحال یہ مثل دیگر اصحاب میرے ہی خواہشون مین ہین اور اس امر کو مین کسی حالت مین فراموش نہین کر سکتا۔ اور نہ دوستانہ قدیم تعلقات کو!!

ف ۲ مرزا صاحب نہایت خلیق و منکسر المزاج واقع ہوئے ہین۔ اور طبیعت بھی کام کرنے کی ان کی گھٹی مین پڑی ہے اور آئین و کردار بھی شریفانہ رکھتے ہین علاوہ اسکے ان کا شمار بہترین زمانہ مین کیا گیا ہے۔

ف ۳ حال مین انہون نے ایک کتاب لکھی ہے (انگریزی مین) جس کا نام (My Public Life) رکھا ہے اور جو کہ ولایت کے کسی مطبع مین طبع ہوئی ہے اس کو مین نے از ابتدا تا انتہا غور سے پڑھا ہے جس مین مرزا صاحب نے اپنے سوانح حیات اور کارناموں کو بیان کیا ہے اور ایک دو باب حیدرآباد سے بھی متعلق لکھا ہے جب کہ وہ یہان بر سر خدمت تھے۔) اور یہ باب قابل غور ہین۔ اور صداقت آمیز ہین۔ (Chapters)

ف ۴ آپ کبھی گاہ گاہ میری طلبی پر حیدرآباد آکر مجھ سے ملتے ہین گو پیرانہ سالی کی وجہ سے سابق کی توانائی اب ان مین باقی نہین رہی ہے سو آخر مین یہ کہنے پر مین مجبور ہون کہ ایڈمنسٹریشن گورنمنٹ بھی ان کو عزت کی نگاہ سے دیکھتی ہے اور ان پر بھروسہ کرتی ہے کہ یہ اس کے قدیم شناسا وطن مین سے ہین جو اہل بزرگ مین ہین۔ اور مشہور و معروف اصحاب مین شامل ہین۔

ف ۵ یہ بھی زبان انگریزی کو خوب جانتے ہین علاوہ مادری زبان فارسی کے یہ اس وجہ سے کہ یہ عجم نژاد ہین۔ مگر اردو کو کم جانتے ہین کہ اس زبان سے اونکو سابقہ کم پڑا ہے اور ہم آپس مین گفتگو انگریزی مین کرتے تھے کہ یہ زبان بین الاقوامی بنگئی ہے اور ہر جگہ بولی و سمجھی جاتی ہے کہ دنیا کے کاروبار اسی مین انجام پاتے ہین۔

Sir M. Ismail

DURRANT'S PRESS CUTTINGS
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July 28, 1954 TRUTH

On books and p

The bro

by Hiranmoy Ghosl

My Public Life
Sir Mirza Ismail. (Allen & Unwin. 18s)
This is Kashmir
Pearce Gervis (Cassell 25s)

IF a fine line of demarcation can be drawn between the categories of politicians and statesman, the life of Sir Mirza Ismail conforms to the latter His entire career as Prime Minister of a number of Princely States has been characterized by dignity and urbanity He has been above shabby squabbles and petty court intrigues, and has been a total stranger to kotow and prevarication Alive to the smallest grievances of the subjects he enjoyed such immense popu larity that in one State it was reported to the Ruler that Sir Mirza was holding a rival durbar

My Public Life records only briefly (the author 'desiring that my readers should wish for more rather than less') what might have been the achievement of a life time in each State but what Sir Mirza accomplished within a few years of his Dewanship. He began his career in Mysore where he was born, a Moslem in an orthodox Hindu Principality, and to the making of which into a model State his contribution was substantial His method of embellishing the capital was ingenious, he recounts how he offered to find a parrot a home in the aviary of the city's Botanical Gardens in return for a grant from an ageing Nepalese Maharani to construct the now famous fairy fountain in Cubbon Park.

His Moslem origin had pled Hindu in triguers with excellent material for trumped-up charges of 'anti-Hindu activities' in Jaipur where he had set about rescuing Hindu temples from falling into ruins. His broadmindedness had exposed him to the accusation of pro Hindu sym pathies in Hyderabad when that State was passing through a period of lawlessness On both occasions, however, Sir Mirza drove his caravan while the dogs barked His indomitable liberalism made him a marked man with Mahomet Ali Jinnah whose at every step *Life* throws a situation in t and reveals committed by Nizam despit depreciations Minister

The destiny faith with Si holds, was Moslems alik shaped by the the sub contin much wider a tion with the tial prerequisi greatness In political fanat a few voices lessly 'One more by serv own' Or, 'E as a foreign language'

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SIR MIRZA invidious s ching the Dev has a prescript He recommend antly Hindu a India and Pak Kashmir to be State 'If a be tion between I made in a rati writes the aut and gradually together in all sperity. . last, they may in all but name

Whether this an older statesi politicians of I Meanwhile *My* excellently wri graphy of a m

The Four Continents
Osbert Sitwell. (Macmillan 25s)

IT is a commonplace to say th Osbert Sitwell's travel books ar no others Every travel writer wor rubber stamps in his passport will time to time digress from his main t but Sir Osbert announces boldly title page that *The Four Continent* sists of 'more diversions on trave and life' In fact, this book is re series of essays on a number of t more or less (and frequently less nected by the author's travels T magicians walls, the four eleme turn each of these provides a s around which Sir Osbert's de fantastic imagination plays and like the Rhine maidens round their Typical of the whole book is the o chapter, in which he records the d ties he experienced in choosing a He resisted such temptations as *Round the Inside of My Head* and *the World in Sixty Years*, and sett the present title, suggested b tapestries of the same name at Ren But while telling us this he has ma by some subtle piece of legerdem drift off into a discussion of life moon, and interplanetary travel international politics, and has men his father, and the Mandalay Veg Society, and Galileo, and quoted and referred to Kipling and Sir T Browne, and all in the space o pages This chapter is a microcosm entire book. Almost anything will to distract the author's attention his topic, if the reader's mind w for a moment from the book, he wi a hard task, when it returns, to d the train of thought by which he to the point he has reached – ind will wonder for a moment whether not inadvertently turned over t more pages at once.

This kind of method has its draw of course, as well as its adva Sometimes, the break in continuity apparent, and occasionally, too, it that he is dragging one of his pre out for an airing, whether the tim place is suitable or not. More often

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On books and people

by Hiranmoy Ghoshal

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The destiny of India is an article of faith with Sir Mirza That destiny, he holds, was shaped by Hindus and Moslems alike and will continue to be shaped by the two major communities of the sub continent He extends the field much wider and regards India's association with the Commonwealth as an essential prerequisite to his country's future greatness In a land of religious and political fanaticism his is one among only a few voices which can proclaim fearlessly 'One pleases the Almighty even more by serving other faiths than one's own' Or, 'English may be regarded not as a foreign but actually as an Indian language'

* * *

SIR MIRZA averted an unpleasant and invidious situation for himself by declining the Dewanship of Kashmir But he has a prescription for the present *impasse*. He recommends partition with predominantly Hindu and Moslem parts to go to India and Pakistan and with the Vale of Kashmir to be made into an autonomous State 'If a beginning of true reconciliation between India and Pakistan can be made in a rational adjustment of claims,' writes the author, 'the habit will grow, and gradually these States may be linked together in all that pertains to their prosperity. Who knows whether, at last, they may become one State again in all but name?'

Whether this is a counsel of sanity from an older statesman had best be judged by politicians of both sides to the dispute Meanwhile *My Public Life* remains an excellently written and elegant autobiography of a man who believes in benevolent personal rule and in pomp and circumstance as integral parts of the gorgeous heritage of India

Mr Pearce Gervis keeps clear of the claims and counter-claims of India and Pakistan and guides us, virtually by the hand, to see and admire the 'huge flawed emerald – flawed by the rivers and the lakes and surrounded by close-set pearls – the snowcapped mountains as though clasping it tight' *This is Kashmir* is a delectable coloured documentary set in print

Writing a travel book can be a problem, as most readers are often too ready to detect the ghost of Baedeker stalking round every corner Mr Gervis relates a personal story It is so personal that after a time he get the reader reconciled to his habit of putting 'though' at the end of a sentence We are carried away by his torrential flow of direct narration, which is factual where facts are needed, but which is on the whole lyrical because like most of his compatriots who have seen Kashmir he has loved the mountains, the lakes and the valleys

This is Kashmir is not only an engaging but an instructive book The tabloid history of the country given by the author is particularly useful since it begins from the third millenium BC and brings the record right up to date It is a sad tale of persecution of gentle mountain folk and men of the valley with occasional chastisements of nature to add to their misery It is not all coloured photography of waving saffron fields, shapely chinar trees and *dolce far niente* existence in picturesque houseboats The author has given a percipient estimate of many social customs which have contributed to the country's weakness In polyandrous Ladakh a woman being shared by several brothers is as pernicious a social canker as man and boy 'friendship' in polygamous Poonch. It seems that many parts of the country have preserved the tradition of 'the wicked city of Sandimat Nagar the Sodom of the East' which was swallowed by an earthquake in the second millenium BC. While India and Pakistan are busy claiming dominion over the 'Earthly Paradise', one wonders whose responsibility is it that its inhabitants be given a better, happier and healthier life?

My Public Life. By SIR MIRZA ISMAIL. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 176 pp. 1954. 18*s*.)

This brief record fulfils the desire expressed by the author in the last paragraph, namely, that its readers should wish for more rather than less. In fact, the reader often wishes also that Sir Mirza would be a little less impersonal, a little more reminiscent.

The book opens with an all too brief account of Ali Asker Shirozi, Sir Mirza's grandfather, who came to Bangalore from Iran at the age of 16, with a string of Arab horses and a pile of Persian shawls, and who, in spite of his illiteracy, established himself as a flourishing merchant, property owner and horse breeder, who knew everybody from the Chief Commissioner down. Surely a romantic story, deserving a chapter or two; Sir Mirza gives him only three pages.

As an administrator and among many other things, Sir Mirza was a great believer in the beneficent influence of a beautiful environment. He believed that flowering trees planted around hospitals, schools, colleges and factory compounds cost little, but yielded much in the effect they had on the hearts and minds of the workers. That is one reason why he became such a great builder, why his name will be forever linked with the beauty of Bangalore, Mysore and Jaipur.

Sir Mirza also believed in seeing people and things for himself. He went about the streets of the cities, he interviewed many people, and thus kept an effective check on dilatory and corrupt officials.

On the communal question he has expressed the noblest sentiment, "I felt that one pleases the Almighty even more by serving other faiths than one's own." He refused to join the Muslim League because he believed it to be anti-Hindu. The most striking observation in the book, in our opinion, is this testimony to his political wisdom: "Statesmanship consists in the anticipation and guidance of events, not in waiting upon them" He has a genuine admiration for Mahatma Gandhi and had incurred official displeasure in giving public expression to it.

The book will not chiefly interest the reader as a record of Sir Mirza's public life, for the record is too brief; nor will it interest him chiefly for any account or analysis it gives of the rapidly changing scene of our national history, its chief appeal, we think, will lie in the picture of the gentle, genial, tactful and wise person that emerges from its pages, almost in spite of the author; the picture of a man with a singular gift for friendship, with a genuine love of nature, and with eminently sensible views on the problems of our times. He should write again, and let himself go next time!

G. C. BANNERJEE

The Aryan Path.
August 1954

THOUGHTS ON

BOOKS, OLD & NEW

By GRAND MOGHUL

SIR Mirza Ismail is the doyen of Indian statesmen. His autobiography entitled *My Public Life Recollections and Reflections*, (George Allen and Unwin Ltd) has just been published

The first chapter begins with a description of Bangalore in the Nineteenth Century Ali Asker Sir Ismail s grandfather with his elder brother, arrived in Bangalore from Shiraz in 1824 About seven years after his arrival that is in 1831 the Maharajah of Mysore was deposed and the Administration was carried on by a Chief Commissioner for half a century and the rendition took place in 1881 Ali Asker was a dealer in horses and came into close contact with Englishmen in civil and military departments Attachment to the British is a tradition of Mirza s family and Sir Ismail clung to it tenaciously His success in life was in no small degree due to this fact as is clear from a perusal of his memoirs Sir Mirza was appointed to the Police service in 1905 and later on to Civil service He was transferred to the personal staff of the Maharajah and had rapid promotions and in 1926 was appointed Dewan a post which he held for fifteen years He then describes the work done by him to make Mysore a model State But he is sorry that princely India has almost disappeared He has forgotten the fact that the British policy was indirect rule , for the alien rulers who exploited the country did not want to be blamed if things went wrong The dewan was in fact a servant of the Viceroy as is clear from an incident reported in the book under review Sir Ismail as Dewan made a speech in the course of which he referred to Gandhiji thus And here I am tempted to say that there is one man above all others who can help us towards a reconciliation of our difficulties and towards that new phase of character which is the ground work of self government I am not one of those who wish Mahatma Gandhi to retire from politics There never was a time when India so badly needed the guidance of a genuine leader and in him we have one who holds a unique position in the country and is not only a convinced lover of peace and an ardent patriot but also a far seeing sagacious statesman I feel he is qualified far better than any one else to reconcile the conflicting elements in the country and to induce them all to march together a further stage along the road that leads to self government He also has in his power as no one else has to establish the happiest relations between India and Britain I feel sure that the Government have in him a powerful ally and Great Britain a true friend I might add that I personally found in the Mahatma a powerfull ally at the Second Round Table Conference when voicing my criticisms of the feature of the white paper constitution which seems to me to be most open to criticism that is the composition of the Upper Chamber" Soon after Lord Willingdon paid a visit to Mysore Lady Willingdon said to Sir Mirza as they were driving in procession that His Excellency was very annoyed with him and was going to give him a dressing down Sir Mirza was sent for the next day and the viceroy said Look here Mirza what have you been doing" Mirza like a school boy offered his explanation After listening to it Lord Willingdon said ' Don't do it again my dear fellow ' Mirza obedientaly replied "I would not "

I do not know with what feeling the readers of the *Deccan Times* will read the following remarks of Sir Mirza about the city of Madras ' When I paid a visit to Madras in April 1952, I was shocked to see how the fine grounds of the old Government House on Mount Road had been not merely neglected but positively misused This extensive area situated in the very heart of a big city could even now be easily converted into an attractive park But buildings big and small have been allowed to grow up anyhow The new Assembly buildings which had cost the rate payer a sum of Rs 10 lakhs is placed cheek by jowl with the old Government House instead of facing and adorning the most important road in the city and the building itself is an example of ugliness that has taken root in the official architectural mind A good opportunity of improving this part of the city has thus been lost but it is to be hoped that this process will not be allowed to continue Madras would do well to seek the advice of a competent town planner and a landscape gardener

In a chapter entitled Shaping India s constitutional Future Sir Mirza refers at length to the part he played at the Round Table Conference He was for the federation and he induced the princes to signify their intention to enter it which they did through the Maharajah of Bikanir

After he retired from Mysore service he was appointed Dewan of Jaipur an office which he held for four years from 1942 to 1946 This was a time when the Hindu Mahasabha was very active All sorts of things were fabricated against Mirza He thought the best thing should be to invite Hindu Mahasabha leaders to Jaipur so that they might see things for them Dr Moonji and Dr P Varadarajulu Naidu, who were Vice presidents of the Hindu Mahasabha visited Jaipur They were satisfied that the information purveyed to them had no foundation in fact Mirza then said that they should issue a statement to the press embodying their impressions of Jaipur Dr Moonji refused to do it But Dr Vardarajulu Naidu as a good Tamilian issued a statement refuting the charges levelled against Mirza He incurred the displeasure of the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha who did not want truth to be told and he left that communal organisation

From Jaipur, Sir Mirza went to Hyderabad as its Prime Minister in 1946 That was a critical period The Razakars did not trust Sir Mirza He did not receive any cooperation from the high placed officials of the State The Nizam too was not helpful. So after about ten months Sir Mirza resigned his Prime Ministership of Hyderabad He wanted to save Hyderabad from the catastrophe that was going to overtake it. The Nizam proved intractable and the inevitable has happend When the Nizam created a trust, he appointed Sir Mirza as one of the trustees But Patel who was ill disposed towards Mirza did not permit the latter to go to Hyderabad Mirza has characterised Patel as " a democratic autocrat" and adds 'Patel could be a good friend but a bad enemy"

The Government of India sent him as a member of a delegation to negotiate with the Government of Ceylon regarding Indians in that island The agreement was still born He went to Indonesia as the United Nations Technical Assistance representative He remained there for eight months His view of Indonesia may be expressed in the words of the poet

Where every prospect is pleasant but man is only vile '

There is a chapter on the Middle East When Sir Mirza went to Iran it was rumoured that he was going there as an unofficial emissary of the British He did not succeed in his mission to bring Persia back under the control of the British From Iran he went to Iraq I do not know where he got the information from that the majority of Iraqians are Shiahs Even today, which is not Sir Mirza who throughout the book says that he is not a communalist and a bigot lets himself go thus 'Although the Shias are in the majority in Iraq the Government is in the hands of the Sunnis and the administrative personnel too is mostly Sunni This does not seem right and is likely to cause trouble in a country where religion plays so large a part in the daily life of the people Here is incitement to revolt How could the appointment of Sir Mirza as the Dewan of Jaipur which is a Hindu state be justified Were not the leaders of the Mahasabha right when they carried on an agitation against him Sir Mirza at heart is a bigot otherwise he would not have made the remarks quoted above

There is a chapter in this book bearing the title Friends From Western Lands He indulges in a tiresome flattery of the English officials who have been oppressing and exploiting this country But what surprised me most was his adulation of Miss Mayo Since the publication of her infamous book *Mother India* she has been roundly castigated by every Indian Mahatma Gandhi called her book gutter inspector s report " But this is what Sir Mirza writes about her "Her book, *Mother India* raised a storm of protest in India but I knew she meant well and was trying to help the country by exposing the shackles as she said which bound her down and prevented her from making progress

The book under review reveals the mentality of a reactionary who is out of tune with the spirit of the times Will Sir Mirza forget old India , if not new India will forget him

JOHN STUART MILL

The Life of John Stuart Mill By Michael St John Packe (Secker and Warburg, 42s)
George Tomlinson. By Fred Blackburn (Heinemann 16s)
My Public Life. By Sir Mirza Ismail (Allen and Unwin, 18s)

IF literary editors could give "Oscars" Mr Packe would get one for his life of John Stuart Mill This is an outstanding biography John Stuart Mill according to some scholars, wrote the famous Wood's Despatch of 1854 the despatch which resulted in the setting up of our three "ancient" universities This book, however does not go into details of this or of other of Mill's India House work—though this work was his bread and butter for many years Mr Packe has rather concentrated (and wisely) on Mill the person and has indeed given us the definitive biography of Mill

The austere Mill of legend (of the legend emanating in part from Mill's own autobiography) disappears, and we are brought face to face in this volume with the human Mill with the Mill of "deep passion violent enthusiasms, great strengths and many failings" The message of this book is more than biographical It is a moral message and hence has especial relevance for us Time and time again we see the bearing of Mill's struggles to problems of the present Indian day

Mr Blackburn's book is also biography It inevitably suffers in such great company On its own, however, it can stand up only as a pleasant tale about a pleasant man George Tomlinson was a good man, not a great This story (a better descriptive term than biography here) of the British Labour Party leader who became Mr Attlee's Minister of Education is light and well written

India's veteran statesman recalls something of his life and experiences in official positions during the four decades preceding Independence and partition. In 1926, when he was 42, he was appointed Dewan to Maharaja Krishnaraja Wadiyar of Mysore, a post which he held for fifteen years Then he spent four years as Prime Minister of Jaipur In August 1946 he went to Hyderabad as Prime Minister, resigning a year later

During Sir Mirza's dewanship the high repute of administrative tradition in Mysore was at its meridian Mysore was a training ground for the young princes of neighbouring States In Jaipur, besides initiating valuable reforms in citizenship and civic amenities he laid the foundations of the Rajasthan University And his services to Sanskrit learning in Mysore will not be easily forgotten

Sir Mirza's musings in retrospect are not those of a doddering old man Though he has tried to avoid hurting feelings or treading upon toes his critical faculty is not dead His observations on the liquidation of princely India (Hyderabad in particular) of the English language in India, on travels in the Middle East in connexion with U N work and thoughts on Partition' prove that patriotism can go hand in hand with the courage of one's own convictions

Persia is My Heart By Najmeh Najafi (Gollancz 13s 6d)

"Persia is My Heart" is the autobiography of a young Persian woman The interest is not solely in the many amusing pictures, such as that of gossip in the public baths (where women pick out the right brides for their sons) or of a friend's wedding, or of the author's dress shop The main appeal is in the consistent theme that the lot of women in Persia must be improved

Life of an Administrator

MY PUBLIC LIFE: By Mirza Ismail; George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Rustum House, Museum Street, London, W.C. 2; 18s.

THE AUTHOR

THE peculiar climate of India during the long years of British rule gave rise to a class of people who specially excelled in the craft of administration. Although at one time a close preserve of the foreigner, the higher civil services opened their doors, however tardily and reluctantly, to gifted sons of the soil Some of these, having made their debut in British India gravitated to the "native" States as Dewans or as Prime Ministers and made a mark there as well. Thus arose the Indian Administrator—a class by himself. Messrs K Seshadri Iyer, M Visvesvarayya, T. Vijayaraghavacharya, V. T. Krishnamachari, N Gopalaswami Ayyangar, C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Akbar Hydari, B L. Mitter, R. K Shanmukham Chetty—an impressive list, though by no means a complete one To this roll must be added Mr Mirza Ismail, who started in the Mysore Police Service and ultimately rose to be Dewan of the State, a position which he held for 15 years (1926-1941) From Mysore he proceeded to Jaipur where he served as Prime Minister for four years, and from Jaipur to Hyderabad, again as Prime Minister, though he resigned within a year Since 1947 Mr Mirza has been indulging in the favourite pastime of the unemployed administrator—a nostalgic longing for the past and an apprehensive and pessimistic viewing of the present and future It is sometimes difficult to resist the feeling that the unemployed administrator is rather like a man who has lost his soul (or even shadow), and is pathetically in search of it Be that as it may, Mr Mirza was certainly a conscientious and able administrator He was not of course, cast in the heroic mould of a Seshadri Iyer or a Visvesvarayya But he made the most of his talents and opportunities and served his masters with conspicuous loyalty And the peoples of the various States where he found himself at the helm of affairs could not have asked for a more painstaking or a more well-meaning administrator He had a passion for orderliness method and efficiency, and if he cared for beauty, he cared no less for material advancement and the good life It is indisputable that his sojourn to Jaipur and later to Hyderabad immediately brought about a progressive turn and gave a rational colour to the administration It was a pity he went to Hyderabad so late but he made a gallant attempt both as Prime Minister and after his resignation to save Hyderabad for the Nizam. The story is narrated in two chapters, probably the most interesting in the book. on the other hand, it is necessary to state that the old order could not long have survived, even had Mr Mirza continued in Hyderabad as Prime Minister. The march of events often assumes the force of an avalanche, and a mere administrator, however efficient and however tactful, cannot stem it for long It had to happen that way, and in the larger interests of the people of India, it was better so

Mr Mirza writes with ease and candour, and there is much that was worth saying and knowing There are some wholly delightful episodes too: for example, Lord Willingdon telling Mr Mirza, "Don't do it again, my dear fellow," and the Nizam telling off Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah and dismissing him with, "Anything more? No? Then good-bye" Some of the key statements and *obiter dicta* are also worth recall·

I had set before myself the ideal of a *truly* socialist State in Mysore

Mr M A Jinnah made no impression at the Round Table Conference He was in agreement with no one, not even, in the end, with his own Muslim delegation

I am a great believer in the importance of the English language for India I think that deterioration in the knowledge of English is a very great calamity for any Indian university

With all his limitations, Mr Mirza was one of the cleanest public figures that modern India has known The *memoirs* of his working life may sometimes raise a smile and sometimes provoke a protest but take the book as a whole and it will be seen to be a candid and honest piece of writing

'HINDUSTAN TIMES'

June 6, 1954.

PERSONALITIES—XV

Mr. Mirza Ismail

MR Mirza Ismail's name will always be associated with the history of Mysore's evolution into a model State He was its Dewan for 15 years and during that long period his far-seeing vision and untiring energy were yoked to the service of a great ideal—the development of Mysore into a beautiful and prosperous State There was no branch of the administration which did not benefit by his reforming zeal To the industrialisation of the State he brought the spirit of a pioneer, and under his inspiring leadership many projects reached rapid fruition Yet this administrator, amid a hundred preoccupations, did not neglect his love for flowers and fountains and the Brindavan Gardens stand as a beautiful monument to his taste and constructive genius He was in truth animated throughout his career by a high patriotism which found continuous expression in practical service to the people Outside his State he was known as a profound believer in the cultural unity of the country, and as a supporter of a federal India He was for a brief period Prime Minister of Jaipur, and for a few months President of the Nizam's Executive Council where, unfortunately, the raucous voice of extremist agitators was allowed to prevail over his statesmanlike plea for restraint and reconciliation

S S

A Review Of

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

(By V. T. S.)

["My Public Life" by Sir Mirza Ismail, K C I E., O B E., I LD Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, 40 Museum Street, London W C 1 Price 18 shillings net.]

AT regular intervals, the reading public in India is entertained by the appearance of an autobiography written by a prominent Indian who has not been able to discover an Indian Boswell to write his biography The latest to join the galaxy of Indian writers of autobiographies is Sir Mirza Ismail whose elevation to the high and responsible post of the Dewan of Mysore at the age of 42 years made the people of India gasp with surprise

Sir Mirza himself confesses with charming naivete in the second chapter of his book that he was considered rathe young or such a responsible post

When it is remembered that the post of the Dewan of Mysore had been held by seasoned administrators of the eminence of Rangacharlu, K Seshadri Iyer V P Madhava Rao P N Krishnamurthy T Ananda Rao M Visvesvaraya and Albion Banerji the public reaction to the appointment of Sir Mirza (who had led a sheltered life in the precincts of the Mysore Palace) as Dewan can be readily understood Although he started with the severe handicap of not knowing the inner administration of any department of the Government he had one supreme advantage over those who preceded him in this high office Sir Mirza was the bosom friend and classmate of the late Maharaja and this circumstance more than any other, contributed to whatever success is claimed by him in his administration of Mysore over a period of 15 long years (thrice the normal period of a Dewanship) It is therefore right and proper that Sir Mirza should devote a chapter in his book in paying his tribute to the late Maharaja who gave him the opportunity to play a leading part in the public life of India Sir Mirza says that once or twice he hinted to the Maharaja that a change in the Dewanship might be desirable from the public point of view The occupant might not get tired—as seldom happened—of the seat but the seat I said seemed to get tired of him and clamoured for a change However, the Maharaja was adamant So far as he was concerned there was no question of having another Dewan so long he and I were alive It is given to few administrators, indeed, to enjoy the affection and confidence of a Ruling Prince to such an extent There is deep and touching pathos, in Sir Mirza's words, 'To me, the Maharaja's death in 1940 was the greatest sorrow I have known in my life' A truer sentiment was never expressed

* * * *

IT is inevitable that several chapters of the book are taken up with the administration of Mysore and the part played by Sir Mirza as Dewan of the State These cannot be of more than passing interest to those readers who do not possess any first-hand knowledge of Mysore and its affairs during the period when Sir Mirza presided over its destiny However, there is considerable subtlety in the manner in which the reader of the book is confronted with copious extracts from private letters written to Sir Mirza by eminent Englishmen and Indians who tasted the lavish hospitality of the State and were taken on conducted tours This is an old technique which Sir Mirza has exploited with considerable success However when Sir Mirza writes I challenge any critics whether in Mysore or Jaipur to point to a single building put up in my time which they now think should not have been erected one is sorely tempted to ask What about the Lalit Mahal in Mysore and the Powder Magazine in Cubbon Park Bangalore?

John Gunther in his Inside Asia had something original to say about almost every important person in the public life of India He has described Sir Mirza as a super efficiency expert who, if he entered a building looked under the carpet to see if there was dust underneath' In those few words, he hit off a description of Sir Mirza which cannot be bettered Window dressing in the field of administration is an art in which Sir Mirza was unsurpassed Endowed by nature with an extremely keen aesthetic sense Sir Mirza was able to give full play to his inborn love of the Beautiful while he was Dewan of the State of Mysore which lent itself admirably to his experiments He refers with commendable pride to his many achievements in this field the most important being of course the Brindavan Gardens and their multi-coloured fountains Among the numerous anecdotes that are an interesting feature of Sir Mirza's book, the most amusing must surely be the one dealing with the devotion of the Maharani of Bajang to her favourite parrot and how the memory of this parrot is now perpetuated in the form of the fairy fountain in Cubbon Park, Bangalore!

* * * *

AFTER the late Maharaja's death in the year 1940 it was not to be expected that Sir Mirza's undisputed sway could continue in the same old way A new favourite had sprung up in the person of the late Thumboo Chetty who had the ear of the young Maharaja who succeeded his uncle The showdown came in due course and Sir Mirza had to quit He would have us believe that it was the late Sir Charles Todhunter and his opposition to the establishment of an Automobile Factory at Bangalore that made it impossible for Sir Mirza to continue as Dewan Keen students of Mysore affairs, however know that this was only the ostensible cause

Sir Mirza went to Jaipur as Prime Minister and lasted only four years He takes credit for foisting on that State in the year 1944 a replica of the discredited Representative Assembly and Legislative Council of Mysore—bodies with elected representatives enjoying only the right to make interminable speeches and without responsibility or power Sir Mirza says these reforms were well received by the people! Three years later India attained independence and a satyagraha movement launched by the Mysore State Congress wrested power from the unwilling hands of the Maharaja's bureaucracy

Possibly the most interesting chapters in Sir Mirza's book are those dealing with the frantic though futile, attempts made by him to save Hyderabad for the Nizam of Hyderabad when that Ruler was running amok with Kasim Razvi and his band of blood-thirsty Razakars After 15 years in Mysore and 4 years in Jaipur Sir Mirza lasted just 10 months in Hyderabad A Nationalist Muslim but lacking the courage of his convictions Sir Mirza could make no impression whatsoever on the situation which had been allowed to develop in Hyderabad Throughout his life Sir Mirza had been known to 'play safe While his book bears eloquent testimony to the tremendous and sincere efforts made by him behind the scenes to save the Nizam from the consequences of his folly, few can agree with Sir Mirza when he asserts that 'the Nizam would have lost heavily in prestige if he had gone to Delhi in response to

(Continued on page 2)

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

(Continued from page 4)

the invitation (or summons as it would have been called) of the Governor-General" We are, however, not surprised to be told that C R considered that Sir Mirza "had played a noble part which will go down in History". His numerous appealing letters to the Nizam even after he was compelled to resign the Prime Ministership of that State throw into relief the severe frustration felt by him when the Nizam would not (or could not) see the writing on the wall "The usual story of small men in high places spelt disaster in Hyderabad", says Sir Mirza As for the Nizam's blunder, which led to the Police Action, Sir Mirza's comment is caustic but correct "Genius has its limitations but stupidity is not thus handicapped '

* * * *

IN the course of his book Sir Mirza has a few things to say about Partition and the Kashmir problem In the light of the aftermath of Partition not many will dispute his assertion that the transfer of power was unduly rushed, ignoring safety factors However, when he goes on to say that the ultimate responsibility for partition 'can fairly be laid at the door of the Congress and not that of Mr Jinnah', one rubs one's eyes with wonder As for Kashmir, Sir Mirza's solution is fantastic In addition to partition he wants the Valley to be formed "into an autonomous unit with a right of appeal to the United Nations in case of trouble from either India or Pakistan"!

Sir Mirza is outspoken in his comments on the merits of the present democratic set-up in the old Princely States He is positive that the common people were far happier before the 'popular' ministries came into existence A referendum will probably prove him to be correct "Adult franchise in a country like India with its illiterate, ignorant and poverty stricken masses can pave the way for Communism" writes Sir Mirza. Do we not see the portents in Travancore-Cochin?

It is somewhat pathetic to be told that Sir Mirza's excursion to Indonesia misfired chiefly because he was not given the status of "an Ambassador of the first class" Why did he consent to go at all?

Altogether, Sir Mirza Ismail's autobiography is an extremely well written and interesting publication It can be confidently recommended for a week-end reading and sustains interest from the first page to the last.

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WISE MEN IN THE EAST

Anyone who has watched, as I have done, Sir Mirza Ismail preside over the Legislative Council of Mysore will have admired his ability to examine and annotate documents passed to him by two secretaries, while keeping a wary eye on the proceedings of the Council as they debated matters of such delicacy as the Untouchables' right to enter the temples.

Sir Mirza publishes in *My Public Life* (Allen and Unwin, 18s.) a photograph of his Maharaja inscribed "Ever your affectionate and devoted." Together they made Mysore the Model State of India; various wise Indian rulers sent their sons there to obtain administrative experience.

From the memoirs of a most respected Muslim statesman we pass to the efforts of a humble Muslim schoolmaster in *A Village in Anatolia* (Valentine Mitchell, 18s). Mahmut Makal's book has been admirably translated by Sir Wyndham Deedes.

It was all very well for the great Kemal Ataturk to command that his country should become westernized; it was less easy for the author to make headway against the reactionaries, who for a time had him imprisoned. Now, however, he has become famous in his own country and this book will happily make him known here.

HENRY BAERLEIN.

MAITRI BHAVAN
15, Sir Krishna Rao Road
Basavangudi, BANGALORE-4
PHONE: 3294

June 2nd 1954.

Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Kt., O.B.E.
2, Ali Asker Road,
High Grounds,
Bangalore 1.

Dear Sir Mirza,

I forgot to bring with me yesterday the type script of the review of your book which is to appear in The Aryan Path next month.

It is prepared by Prof. G. C. Bannerjee, who is the Principal of Sir Yusoef College at Andehri near Bombay. Prof. Bannerjee was Professor of English literature at Elphinstone College and he is regarded as one of the few people well up in literary matters. I hope you will like the review.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

B. P. Wadia

My Public Life. By Sir Mirza Ismail. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 176 pp. 1954. 18s.)

This brief record fulfils the desire expressed by the author in the last paragraph, namely, that its readers should wish for more rather than less. In fact, the reader often wishes also that Sir Mirza would be a little less impersonal, a little more reminiscent.

The book opens with an all too brief account of Ali Asker Shirazi, Sir Mirza's grandfather, who came to Bangalore from Iran at the age of 16, with a string of ~~Australian~~ horses and a pile of Persian shawls, and who, inspite of his illiteracy, established himself as a flourishing merchant, property owner and horse breeder, who knew everybody from the Chief Commissioner down. Surely a romantic story, deserving a chapter or two; Sir Mirza gives him only three pages.

As an administrator and among many other things, Sir Mirza was a great believer in the beneficent influence of a beautiful environment. He believed that flowering trees planted around hospitals, schools, colleges and factory compounds cost little, but yielded much in the effect they had on the hearts and minds of the workers. That is one reason why he became such a great builder, why his name will be forever linked with the beauty of Bangalore, Mysore and Jaipur.

Sir Mirza also believed in seeing people and things for himself. He went about the streets of the cities, he interviewed many people, and thus kept an effective check on dilatory and corrupt officials.

On the communal question he has expressed the noblest sentiment, "I felt that one pleases the Almighty even more by serving other faiths than one's own." He refused to join the Muslim League because he believed it to be anti-Hindu. The most striking observation in the book, in our opinionm is this testimony to his political wisdom: "Statesmanship consists in the anticipation and guidance of events, not in waiting upon them." He has a genuine admiration for Mahatma Gandhi and had incurred official displeasure in giving public expression to it.

The book will not chiefly interest the reader as a record of Sir Mirza's public life, for the record is too brief; nor will it interest him chiefly for any account or analysis it gives of the rapidly changing scene of our national history; its chief appeal, we think, will lie in the picture of the gentle, genial, tactful and wise person that emerges from its pages, almost inspite of the author; the picture of a man with a singular gift for friendship, with a genuine love of nature, and with eminently sensible views on the problems of our times. He should write again, and let himself go next time!

G. C. Bannerjee

in The Aryan Path.

Thru copies of this
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Mz

T. ASSANAR KUTTY

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My Dear Sir

Thank you for your kind reply M/s Higginbothams, Madras have promised to send me a copy of your book shortly.

I am herewith sending you a cutting of "Mathrubhumy" a Nationalist daily of Malabar of 9.5.54 in which you can see a comment by a reader on your book. I hope you

Can get this translated and understand well. He says in the end that "we are sorry that we have ignored the ability of such an administrator".

Hope you are doing well and pray Allah to bless you with a long life.

Yours Sincerely

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ഒരു രാഷ്ട്രതന്ത്രജ്ഞന്റെ ആത്മകഥ

സർ മിർസാ ഇസ്മെയിലിന്റെ പൊതുജീവിതം

ദിലീപ്

130 വർഷം മുമ്പ് ഷുജി ആസൂർ എന്ന പേരായ ഒരു മുസ്ലീം യുവാവ് കച്ചവടക്കാരനായി മൈസൂരിൽ എത്തി. അദ്ദേഹം മൈസൂർ മഹാരാജാവിന്റെ കതിരപ്പന്ത്രയുടെയും മൈസൂർ സ്റ്റേറ്റിലെ കതിരപ്പട്ടാളത്തിന്റെയും ആവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കായി കതിരകളെ വിറ്റാണ് ജീവിച്ചിരുന്നത്. കതിരക്കച്ചവടത്തിനു പുറമെ പേർഷ്യൻ പരവതാനികളുടെ വില്പനയും നടത്തി. മൈസൂർ സ്റ്റേറ്റിലെ കച്ചവടക്കാരുടെ സ്ഥിതി കാലക്രമേണ കച്ചവടവുമായി ബാംഗ്ലൂരിൽ താമസമുറപ്പിക്കയാണ് അദ്ദേഹം ചെയ്തത്. കച്ചവടത്തിലുള്ള പരമ്പരാഗതമായ സാമർത്ഥ്യവും ചുമതലയ്ക്കു കഴിവുള്ള ഒരു കുടുംബത്തിന്റെ ബാംഗ്ലൂരിലെ മികച്ച ഒരു ധനാഢ്യനായി വളരുന്നതിന് വിഷമമുണ്ടായില്ല. മാത്രമല്ലാ, ബാംഗ്ലൂരിലുണ്ടായിരുന്ന ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് റസിഡന്റുമാരായും മററു ഉയർന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുമായും അസ്സോസ്സിയേഷൻ സ്ഥാപിക്കുവാനും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നു സാധിച്ചു. അദ്ദേഹം തന്റെ 83-ാമത്തെ വയസ്സിൽ മരിച്ചു. തന്റെ ഒരു പൌത്രൻ മൈസൂർ സ്റ്റേറ്റിലെ ദിവാൻജിയാകുമെന്ന് അദ്ദേഹം ഊഹിച്ചിരിക്കയില്ല.

കൊട്ടാരവുമായി ബന്ധപ്പെട്ട ബാല്യം

സർ മിർസാ ഇസ്മെയിൽ 1883ലാണ് ജനിച്ചത്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ബാല്യവും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവുമെല്ലാം മൈസൂർ രാജകുടുംബത്തിലെ കുട്ടികളോടൊപ്പമായിരുന്നു. കൊട്ടാരജീവിതവുമായി അടുത്തേക്കു ബന്ധപ്പെട്ടിരുന്ന അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസാനന്തരം സ്റ്റേറ്റ് സർവ്വീസിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതിന്ന് പ്രയാസമുള്ള വിഷമമോ ഉണ്ടായില്ല. 1926-ൽ മൈസൂരിലെ ദിവാൻജിയായി അദ്ദേഹം നിയമിക്കപ്പെടുകയും 15 നീണ്ട വർഷങ്ങൾ ആ പദവി സൂര്യപ്രഭയോടെ വഹിക്കുകയുംചെയ്തു. ഈ ഒരു നീണ്ട കാലഘട്ടത്തിനുള്ളിലാണ് മൈസൂർ സ്റ്റേറ്റ് [illegible] 500ക്കു [illegible] ഒരു [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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മൈസൂരിൽ സ്ഥിരമിച്ചു നിലപാട് ബുദ്ധിപൂർവ്വമായിരുന്നു. ഒരു വശത്തു ഹിന്ദു മുസ്ലീം പ്രശ്നവും മറുവശത്തു ഇൻഡോ-ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് പ്രശ്നവും കൊടുമ്പിരിക്കൊണ്ട സന്ദർഭമായിരുന്നു അതു്. അന്നു ഏതു വിഭാഗക്കാരുടെയും സുഹൃത്തായിരുന്ന അദ്ദേഹം. വിശാലതരമായ ഒരു വീക്ഷണഗതിയുടെ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ ഏതു വിഭാഗത്തിന്റെയും ശത്രുതയ്ക്കിന്നു വിധേയനാകാതെ നയം മുമ്പോട്ടു കൊണ്ടു പോകുകയാണ് ചെയ്തത്.

മൈസൂരിന്നു പുറത്ത്

ജനനത്തെ മൈസൂർ മഹാരാജാവിന്റെ നിയോഗത്തോടുകൂടി മൈസൂരിലെ രാഷ്ട്രീയരംഗത്തിൽനിന്നും ഇസ്മെയിൽ പിൻവലിച്ചു. പക്ഷെ ജയ്പ്പൂരിലെ പ്രധാനമന്ത്രി പദം അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നു നല്കപ്പെടുവാൻ താമസമുണ്ടായില്ല. ജയ്പ്പൂർ സ്റ്റേറ്റിൽ ജനാധിപത്യത്തിന്റെ പരിണാമം ചെയ്തതു് ഇസ്മെയിലാണ് 4½ കൊല്ലക്കാലത്തെ പ്രശസ്തസേവനത്തിന്നു ശേഷം അദ്ദേഹം ജയ്പ്പൂർ വിട്ടു അവിടെനിന്നദ്ദേഹം ഹൈദരാബാദിലേക്കു തിരിച്ചെങ്കിലും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ സേവനങ്ങൾ ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിന്നുള്ള ആഗ്രഹം ഹൈദരാബാദ് ഭരണസമിതിക്കുണ്ടായില്ല. പിന്നീടദ്ദേഹം പൊതുരംഗത്തിൽ പ്രത്യക്ഷപ്പെട്ടതു് ഇന്ത്യാഗവർണ്ണറായിരുന്ന അവിടെ ഫെഡറേഷന്റെ സമയത്തെ സാങ്കേതികസ്ഥാനപ്രതിനിധിയെന്നനിലക്ക് കുറച്ചുകാലം പ്രവർത്തിച്ചു. പക്ഷെ ആരോഗ്യപരമായ കാരണങ്ങളെ മുൻനിർത്തി അവിടത്തെ സ്ഥാനങ്ങളൊഴിഞ്ഞ ഇന്ത്യയിൽ തിരിച്ചെത്തിയശേഷമാണ് തന്റെ പൊതുജീവിതത്തെപ്പററി അദ്ദേഹം (My Public Life) ഒരു പുസ്തകമെഴുതിയതു്. പ്രസ്തുതപുസ്തകം അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ജനസ്വീകാര്യതയ്ക്കു വ്യക്തമായ നമുക്കു കാണിച്ചുതരുന്നു.

ജീവനുമയി അഭിപ്രായ

[illegible]

ഒരു രാഷ്ട്രതന്ത്രജ്ഞന്റെ ആത്മകഥ

സർ മിർസാ ഇസ്മയിലിന്റെ പൊതുജീവിതം

ഒരു വിചാരം

130 വർഷം മുമ്പ് ആലി ആസ്കർ എന്ന പൊരായ ഒരു മുസ്ലിം യുവാവ് കുറേ അനുഭവിക്കുന്നതുകളുമായി മൈസൂരിൽ എത്തി. അദ്ദേഹം മൈസൂർ മഹാരാജാവിന്റെ കതിപ്പുപ്രതിയുടെയും മൈസൂർ സ്റ്റേറ്റിലെ കതിപ്പുപ്രമുഖന്മാരുടെയും ആശ്രിതനായി കതിക്കേണ്ട വിധം വിപ്രയോഗ കതിക്കച്ചവടത്തിന്റെ പാരമ്പര്യമായ ചെട്ടിസ്ട്രീറ്റ് പരദേശാനികളുടെ വില്ലനായും നടത്തി മൈസൂർ സ്റ്റേറ്റിലെ കച്ചവടം സ്വയപ്രയോഗമുള്ളതാക്കി. കാലക്രമേണ കച്ചവടക്കാരിയായി ബാംഗ്ലൂരിൽ താമസമുറപ്പിക്കുകയാണ് അദ്ദേഹം ചെയ്തത്. കച്ചവടത്തിലുള്ള പ്രസിദ്ധിയുടെ സമ്പാദ്യവും ചതുരിയ മുള്ള കാലത്തിനുമുൾ ബാംഗ്ലൂരിലെ മികച്ച ഒരു ധനാഢ്യനായി വളരുന്നതിന് വിഷമമുണ്ടായില്ല. മുമ്പേ, ബാംഗ്ലൂരിലെത്തിയ ആ ഇന്ത്യൻ നബ്ദ്ധ ഭൂമിയിലെത്തിയ ആ ഇന്ത്യൻ നബ്ദ്ധ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ഇടയിലും സ്ഥാനം സ്ഥാപിക്കുവാനും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നു സാധിച്ചു. ഇദ്ദേഹം തന്റെ 33 വയസ്സിൽ മരിച്ചു തന്റെ മകൻ മൈസൂർ സ്റ്റേറ്റിലെ ദിവാൻജിയാകുമെന്ന് അദ്ദേഹം ഊഹിച്ചിരിക്കയില്ല.

കൊട്ടാരവുമായി ബന്ധപ്പെട്ട ബാല്യം

സർ മിർസാ ഇസ്മയിൽ 1883ലാണ് ജനിച്ചത്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ബാല്യവും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവുമൊക്കെ മൈസൂർ രാജകുടുംബത്തിലെ കുട്ടികളോടൊപ്പമായിരുന്നു. കൊട്ടാരജീവിതവുമായി അത്രയേറെ ബന്ധപ്പെട്ടിരുന്ന അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നു പിന്നീടുള്ള സ്കൂൾ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനുശേഷം സ്റ്റേറ്റ് സർവ്വീസിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതിന്നു പ്രയാസമുണ്ടായില്ല. 1926 ൽ മൈസൂരിലെ ദിവാൻജിയായി അദ്ദേഹം നിയമിക്കപ്പെടുകയും 15 വർഷം ആ പദവി സ്തുത്യർഹമായി വഹിക്കുകയുമുണ്ടായി. ഈ ഒരു വർഷം കാലഘട്ടത്തിനുള്ളിലാണ് മൈസൂർ സ്റ്റേറ്റ് കാര്യത്തിലുള്ള ചില പരിഷ്കരണനടപടികളിലുണ്ടായതും. ഇന്നത്തെ ചോദ്യം ആധുനിക മൈസൂരിന്റെ ജാതകം കുറിച്ചതു ഈ ദിവസത്തിലെ കട്ടിലിലാണെന്നു തന്നെ പറയട്ടെ.

ഗുരുതരമായ ഹിന്ദു-മുസ്ലിം ഭിന്നക്കെട്ട്

അക്കാലത്തു മൈസൂർമഹാരാജാവായിരുന്ന കൃഷ്ണരാജപ്രഥമൻ ബഹദൂർ ആയിരുന്നു ഒരു ഭരണാധിപതി എന്ന നിലക്ക് മൈസൂരിനകത്തും പുറത്തും അദ്ദേഹം മതപരമായ ബഹുമാനിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരുന്ന ഹൃദയിശുദ്ധനായ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ജീവിതം മതാന്ധ സംസ്കാരത്തിന്റെ അതിപ്രാചീനതയ്ക്കുള്ളിൽ കണ്ണടയിട്ടു ജനസഹിഷ്ണുതയോടുകൂടി ജീവിക്കുന്നവരുടെ ഏതാനമുദ്ദേശത്തിന്റെ ജീവിതത്തിൽ അസൂയാർഹമായ സ്വാധീനം ചെലുത്തുവാൻ ഒരു മുസ്ലീമിനു സാധിച്ചു. സർ മിർസാ മൈസൂരിൽ ദിവാൻ പദവിയിലേക്ക് ആരോഹണം ചെയ്തു. ഈ ഹൈന്ദവ വിജയം മതാന്ധരായിരുന്ന ഒരു മുസ്ലിം മതവിശ്വാസിയായിരുന്നുവെങ്കിലും മൈസൂരിലെ ഹൈന്ദവരുമായി കൂടിക്കഴിയുവാൻ വിമുഖതയില്ല. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ മനം മുഴുവനും സേവനമായിരുന്നുവെന്നതാണ് അതിനുള്ള ദൃഷ്ടാന്തം. ഇന്ത്യയുടെ ഭാഗ്യനിർണ്ണയമായ ചരിത്രത്തിൽ ഇന്ത്യയുടെ ശ്രേയസ്സായ ഒരു ഹിന്ദു-മുസ്ലീം കൂട്ടുകെട്ട് ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടോ എന്ന സംശയമാണ്.

മൈസൂർ ദിവാനായിരുന്ന കാലത്താണ് പ്രശസ്തയായ അന്യനാട്ടു ഗായികയിലേക്ക് ആദ്യാനുരാഗം ചെലുത്തുവാൻ ഒരു ഹിന്ദു ജ്യൂഡീഷ് ഭരണാധികാരിക്കുണ്ടായി ഇവിടെ കേവലം മാത്രം ഇസ്ലാമിന്നു സാധിച്ചത് ഖുറാനിൽ രാജ്യീയപരമായ ഒരു സ്വാധീനസംഭവമായ വിവാഹമോചനത്തിൽ ഇസ്ലാമിൽ വിവാഹിതനായ പുരുഷന്മാർക്കുള്ളതു ഇന്ത്യൻ നേതാക്കളിൽ മുഖ്യനായ പ്രശസ്തനായിട്ടു നമ്മുടെ 13ാമിയ്ക്കുണ്ടായിരുന്നതായ ബലിവിഗതികളിൽ ഇ

ദ്ദേഹത്തിൽ ഏതുപ്രകാരമുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശ്യമാണോ കണ്ടു, നിയമദൃഷ്ടിയും തത്ത്വങ്ങളെ നിലപാടു സ്വതന്ത്രിതമായിക്കൊണ്ടാകാനുള്ള പ്രസ്തുത കമ്പനികളുടെ പ്രവർത്തനം ഭൂവനം തന്നിലിത്തരം മണ്ണുചിരിയ്ക്കുപ്പെടുന്നതുതന്നെ ശിക്ഷാനുവേദികരാ ഏതുക്കണ്ടതിൽ സിദ്ധമുണ്ട്. ഒരു, ഒപ്പമെന്ന് കാരണം, കമ്പനികളുടെ വക്കിലെ [illegible] മിക്കവരും കല്ലി പുറപ്പെടുവാൻ [illegible]

മൈസൂരിൽ സ്വീകരിച്ച നിലപാട് ബുദ്ധി കൂടുകൾക്കിടയിലെ മതവൈരുദ്ധ്യമായ മുസ്ലീം ഭൂരിപക്ഷം കേവലമല്ല ഗൺഡോ ആയിട്ടാണ് പ്രത്യുത കോട്ടയ്ക്കിടയിലെ സമ്പന്നരായിരുന്നു അല്ല. ഒന്നു ഏതു വിഭാഗക്കാരുടെയും സൂക്ഷ്മതയിലെന്ന അദ്ദേഹം വിശ്വസ്തരായ ഒരു വിക്കണോഗതിയുടെ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ ഏതു വിഭാഗത്തിന്റെയും ശത്രുതക്കിന്നു വിധേയനാകാതെ നല്ലം കൈക്കൊള്ളുകയാണ് ചെയ്തത്.

മൈസൂരിന്റെ പുരോഗതി

അന്നത്തെ മൈസൂർ മഹാരാജാവിന്റെ നിയോഗത്തോടുകൂടി മൈസൂരിലെ രാജ്യഭരണത്തിൽ നിന്നും ഇസ്മയിൽ പിൻവലിച്ചു. പക്ഷേ ജയപ്പൂരിലെ പ്രധാനമന്ത്രി പദം അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നു സ്വീകരിക്കുവാൻ താമസമുണ്ടായില്ല. ജയപ്പൂർ സ്റ്റേറ്റിൽ ഭരണധിപതിയുടെ ദിവാൻജി പദം ചെയ്തു. ഇസ്മയിലാണ് 44 കൊല്ലക്കാലത്തെ പ്രശസ്തസേവനത്തിന്നു ശേഷം അദ്ദേഹം ജയപ്പൂർ വിട്ടു കഴിവേനിന്നദ്ദേഹം ലൊണ്ടോയിലെക്കു തിരിച്ചുകിട്ടിയും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ സേവനങ്ങൾ ഉചിതയോഗ്യപ്രയോജനത്തിനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗം ലൊണ്ടോബോർഡ് ഭരണസംഗത്തിൽ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തുകയുണ്ടായില്ല. പിന്നീടദ്ദേഹം ഗ്രേറ്റ്ബ്രിട്ടനിൽ പ്രതിക്കൂട്ടിലാക്കപ്പെട്ടു. ഇന്ത്യാനേതൃത്വിയായിരുന്ന ഗാന്ധിജിയുടെ സമ്പൂർണ്ണ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യപ്രതിനിധിയെന്നനിലക്ക് കമ്പക്കാലം പ്രവർത്തിച്ച പക്ഷം ആരോഗ്യപരമായ കാരണങ്ങളെ ഉൾനിന്നു ഗാന്ധിജിയ്ക്കു പിന്നീടുണ്ടായിവന്ന ഇന്ത്യൻ ഭരണഘടനയ്ക്കു ശേഷമാണു തന്റെ ഒരു ആത്മകഥ (My Public Life) ഒരു പുസ്തകമെഴുതിയ്ക്കുന്നത്. പ്രസ്തുതപുസ്തകം അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അസാധാരണമായ വ്യക്തിത്വത്തെ നമുക്കു കണിച്ചുതരുന്നു.

ജിന്നയുമായി അഭിപ്രായ വ്യത്യാസം

ജിന്നയുമായി ഇസ്മയിലിന്ന് ഗുരുതരമായ അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസങ്ങളുണ്ടായിരുന്നുവെന്ന് ഈ ഗ്രന്ഥത്തിൽ കാണുന്നുണ്ട്. മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ ചരിത്രപ്രാധാന്യം അനാദ്യന്തവും ആചൽക്കരവുമാണെന്ന് വാദിച്ചു ജിന്നക്കെതിരെ ദേശീയമുസ്ലീം ഇസ്മയിലിനെന്നു തോന്നുന്ന നിലപാടു യുക്തിയുടെ തെത്തിന്റെ പക്ഷഗണനകൾക്കുപരിയായി നിലകൊള്ളേണ്ടതാണെന്ന ചിന്താഗതിക്ക് പ്രചാരം നൽകുവാൻ ഞാൻ ഇസ്മയിൽ പരിശ്രമിക്കയുണ്ടായി. എന്നാൽ ഇസ്മയിൽ നാലു നൽകാൻഗ്രസ്സിന്റെ നയപരിപാടികളുമായി യോജിക്കുവാനും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്ന് സാധിച്ചില്ല. കോൺഗ്രസ്സിന്റെ ചില പ്രമുഖ നേതാക്കന്മാരുടെയോ വ്യക്തിപരമായ സൌഹൃദം പുലർത്തിയിരുന്നുവെങ്കിലും അദ്ദേഹം ഒരു കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് അനുഭാവിയാണെന്നു മുകളിലെപ്പറഞ്ഞ പക്ഷം വാസ്തവം അന്നായിരുന്നില്ല. ഇന്ത്യയിലെ രാഷ്ട്രീയകാര്യങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള ഒരേയും അഭിപ്രായം സ്വന്തം അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളുടെയിതു സ്വതന്ത്രമായ ഒരു വിശാലവീക്ഷണമായിരുന്നു അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെത്. ഒന്ന് സർ തേജ്ബഹദൂർ സപ്രൂവിനെപ്പോലെ ചുള്ള നേതാക്കന്മാർ ഒക്കെക്കാണെ നയമായിരുന്നു ഇതിനുമുമ്പ് സ്വീകരിച്ചിരുന്നത്. ഇന്ത്യയുടെ ഭരണം ഇന്നു ഇന്ത്യരായിരുന്നു ഭൂരിപക്ഷമായ ഹിന്ദുക്കളിലേക്കു മടക്കിക്കൊടുക്കുവാൻ ആയുള്ളകാലത്തു ഇന്ത്യയെ ഇന്ത്യരോടു കൂടുതൽ അടുപ്പിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കേണ്ടതുമുണ്ടെന്ന് അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നഭിപ്രായമുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ഇന്ത്യയുടെ ഭരണഘടനയിൽ ഇന്ത്യയുടെ രാഷ്ട്രീയജീവിതത്തിൽ ഇന്നു കാണുന്ന കക്ഷി രാഷ്ട്രീയത്തിന്റെ ചില വശങ്ങൾ ആശാസ്യകരമല്ലെന്ന അഭിപ്രായമാണ് അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നുണ്ടായിരുന്നത്.

കാശ്മീർ ഇന്ത്യാനേതാക്കൾ, ഗ്രന്ഥകർത്താവ് സ്വന്തമഭിപ്രായം — എന്നിവയെപ്പറ്റി ഗ്രന്ഥകാരൻ തന്റെ പുസ്തകത്തിൽ പ്രതിപാദിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട് അവയെല്ലാം ഒരു വിക്ടോറിയൻ ലിബറലിന്റെ വീക്ഷണഗതിയോടുകൂടിയ ന്ന് അദ്ദേഹം തെളിപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുമുണ്ട്.

ഇസ്മയിലിന്റെ ഈ പുസ്തകം വായിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞാൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തെപ്പോലുള്ള ഒരു മികച്ച രാജ്യതന്ത്രജ്ഞന്റെ സേവനം അനുഗണിക്കപ്പെടുകയോ അന്ന ഒരു കണ്ണിതലമാണ് വായനക്കാരനുണ്ടാകുക.

• My pubhc life By Sir Mirsa Ismail (George Allen & Unwin Ltd) 1954 174 pages—price 18 sth net.

5-5-1954

ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾರವರ ಅರ್ಧ ಶತಮಾನದ ಸೇವೆ

ತಾವು ಬದುಕಿರುವವರೆಗೂ ದಿವಾನಗಿರಿಯಲ್ಲಿರಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಮಹಾರಾಜರ ಆಶಯ

ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಜೀವನದ ಅಪರೂಪ ಪುಸ್ತಕ

ಮೈಸೂರು ಮತ್ತು ಭಾರತ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳ ಒಳ ನೋಟ

ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ಗಲಭೆಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪ

["ನನ್ನ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಜೀವನ" ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾ ಎಂ ಇಸ್ಮೇಲರಿಂದ ಲಂ ಪುಟಗಳು. ಲಂಡನ್ನಿನ ಜಾರ್ಜ್ ಆಲೆನ್ ಮತ್ತು ಅನ್ವಿನ್ ಕಂಪೆನಿಯವರು ದ ಪ್ರಕಟಿವಾಗಿದೆ. ಬೆಲೆ ೧೮ ಷಿಲ್ಲಿಂಗುಗಳು]

ಮುನ್ನುಡಿ, ೧೬ ಅಧ್ಯಾಯಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಮಾರ್ಗದರ್ಶಕ ಸೂತ್ರಗಳಿಂದ ತುಂಬಿರುವ ೧೨೦ ಪುಟಗಳುಳ್ಳ ಈ ಸುಂದರ ಪುಸ್ತಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾ ಎಂ ಇಸ್ಮೇಲರವರ ಅರ್ಧ ಶತಮಾನದ ಅನುಭವ ವಿಶೇಷಗಳಡಗಿವೆ "ಮರೆತುಹೋಗದೆ ಇದ್ದ ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನು ತಿಳಿಸುವುದೇ ನನ್ನ ಗುರಿ. ಮತ್ತೊಬ್ಬರ ಮನಸ್ಸನ್ನು ನೋಯಿಸುವಂಥ ವಿಷಯಗಳ ಕಡೆ ನಾನು ಗಮನ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಪುಸ್ತಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕ ಪ್ರಶಿಧಾನ್ವಿತರ ಪ್ರಸಂಗಗಳ ತುಂಬಿವೆ. ಅವರ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪಿಸುವಾಗ ಮಂಜು ಸ್ತುತಿಗೋಸ್ಕರ ಅವನ್ನು ಹೊಗಳಲ್ಲ. ಎಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಗಳಿಕೆಗೆ ಅರ್ಹತೆ ಇದೆಯೋ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರ ಪ್ರಶಂಸೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದೇನೆ. ಟೀಕೆಗಳಿದ್ದರೆ ಹಿಂಜರಿಯದೆ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇನೆ" ಎಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಈ ಮುನ್ನುಡಿಯು ಹನ್ನೆಲೆಯಿಂದ ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾ ಎಂ. ಇಸ್ಮೇಲರ ಬರವಣಿಗೆಯನ್ನು ಓದುವುದಾದರೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಮನಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ಅನೇಕ ಹೊಸ ವಿಷಯಗಳೂ ಹೊಸ ನೋಟಗಳೂ ಹೊಳೆಯುವುವು

ಭಾಷೆ ಸುಂದರವಾಗಿದೆ. ಸರಳವಾದ ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಶೈಲಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ತಮ್ಮ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಗಳನ್ನು ಮನಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ನಾಟುವಂತೆ ತಿಳಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಮೈಸೂರಿನವರು ಕಂಡ ಕೇಳಿಯದ ಅನೇಕ ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪಿಸಿರಬಹುದೆಂಬ ಆಶೆಯಿಂದ ಪುಟಗಳನ್ನು ತಿರುವಿ ಹಾಕಿದರೆ ಅಂತಹ ಕೂತೂಹಲಕರವಾದ ವಿಷಯಗಳೇನೂ ಇಲ್ಲ.

ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾರವರು ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ್ದು ಬೆಂಗಳೂರಲ್ಲಿ. ಅವರ ತಂದೆ ಆಗಾ ಜಾನ್ ಮತ್ತು ಅಲಿ ಅಸ್ಕರ್ ಷಿರಾಜಿ ಮತ್ತು ಮಕ್ಕಳು. ಅವರ ಮನೆತನದವರು ಪರ್ಷಿಯಾ ದೇಶದ ಷಿರಾಜ್‌ನಿಂದ ಬಂದವರು ಗಲಭೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂದು ಅವರ ಮನೆತನ ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ಪ್ರಗತಿಯ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಶೇಷಾಸಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ವಹಿಸಿದ್ದವರ ನಾರ್ಹವಾದ ವಿಷಯ.

ಮೂಳೆಯ ಸೆಂಟ್ ಪ್ಯಾಟ್ರಿಕ್ ಸ್ಕೂಲಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ವಿದ್ಯಾಭ್ಯಾಸವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದ ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾರವರು ನಂತರ ಪೆಸ್ಲಿಯನ್ ಹೈಸ್ಕೂಲಿನಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಆಮೇಲೆ ಮಹಾರಾಜರವರ ಜೊತೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಯಲ್ ಸ್ಕೂಲಿನಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ಸೆಂಟ್ರಲ್ ಕಾಲೇಜಿನಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಓದಿದರು.

'ದಿವಾನ್ ಪದವಿಯಿಂದ ಬಿಡುಗಡೆ ಮಾಡಿ'

ಹದಿನೈದು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ದೀರ್ಘ ಕಾಲ ಅವರು ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ದಿವಾನರಾಗಿದ್ದರು ಇದನ್ನು ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪಿಸುತ್ತಾ, "ಮತ್ತಾರಿಗಾದರೂ ದಿವಾನರ ಪದವಿಯನ್ನು ಹಿಸಿಕೊಡುವ ಕಾತುರತೆಯಿಂದ ನನ್ನನ್ನು ಬಿಡುಗಡೆ ಮಾಡಬೇಕೆಂದು ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಜರನ್ನು ಆಗಿಂದಾಗ್ಗೆ ಕೇಳಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದೆ. ಪದವಿ ವಹಿಸಿರುವವರು 'ಅದರಿಂದ ಬೇಜಾರಾಗುವ ಬದಲು ಪದವಿಯೇ ನನ್ನ ದೀರ್ಘ ಕಾಲದ ಅಧಿಕಾರದಿಂದ ಬೇಸರಗೊಂಡಿತ್ತು. ಅದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಪದವಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಕೊಡಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಯಿತು.....ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಜರು ಸ್ವರ್ಗಸ್ಥರಾಗುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆರು ತಿಂಗಳ ಹಿಂದೆ ನಾವಿಬ್ಬರೂ ಅರಮನೆಗೆ ಮೋಟಾರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಹೋಗುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಗ ಪುನಃ ದಿವಾನರ ಪದವಿಯಿಂದ ನಿವೃತ್ತನಾಗುವುದಾಗಿ ಅಪೇಕ್ಷಿಸಿದೆ ಇದನ್ನು ಅವರು ಸಹಿಸಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಬಹಳ ಅಸಹನೆಯಿಂದ "ಇದೋ ನೋಡಿ, ನನ್ನನ್ನು ಮೊದಲು ಆ ಸ್ಥಳಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯಿರಿ, [ಸ್ಮಶಾನದ ಕಡೆ ತೋರಿಸುತ್ತಾ] ಆ ಮೇಲೆ ಮನಸ್ಸು ಬಂದಂತೆ ಮಾಡಿ" ಎಂದರು. "ನಾನು ಬದುಕಿರುವವರೆಗೂ ಬೇರೊಬ್ಬ ದಿವಾನರನ್ನು ನೇಮಿಸುವ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಯೇ ಇಲ್ಲ" ಎಂಬುದಾಗಿ ಬಿಸುರು ನುಡಿಗಳಿಂದ ನುಡಿದರು"ಎಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾರವರಲ್ಲಿ ಅಳವಡಿ ಮಹಾಸ್ವಾಮಿಯವರು ಇಟ್ಟಿದ್ದ ನಂಬಿಕೆಗೆ ಇದೊಂದು ಉದಾಹರಣೆ.

ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ಗಲಭೆಗಳು

ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ಗಲಭೆ (ಗಲಾಟೆ) ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪಿಸುತ್ತಾ ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾರವರು ಶ್ರೀ ಶೇಷಾದ್ರಿ ಅಯ್ಯರ್ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯತಾಪ ಸಂಗತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪಿಸುತ್ತಾ ಈ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಗೆ ಬೆಂಗಳೂರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಭವಿಸಿದ ಗಲಭೆಗಳಾದವು. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆ ಬಾಂಬಾಯಿ ಪ್ರಾಂತ್ಯದ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಒಬ್ಬ ಮುಸ್ಲಿಂ ರಾಜಕಾರಣಿಗಳು ಜನರ ವಿಶ್ವಾಸ ಗಳಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದರೇ ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾರಣ. ಹಿಂದೂಗಳ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ ಮಂಡಿಸಿ ಕಂಡರೆ ದ್ವೇಷಿಸಿದ್ದರು. ಅವರು ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಕಾರಿ ಕ್ರಿಯಾವಿಧಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕೈಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದನ್ನು ಜನರು ದಿವಾಗಿರುವಂತೆ ನಿರ್ವಹಿಸಿದ ಮೇಲೆ ತಿಳಿಯಬೇಕೆಂತ. ಅವರು ಜನಾನ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರಧಾನಗಳಿದ್ದವು ಎಂದು ಸಾಬೀತು ತಿಳಿದು ಬಂತು. ಅವರು ಅವರು ಬಹು ದಕ್ಷರು. ಕೆಲಸ ಎಂದರೆ ಬಹು ಶ್ರದ್ಧೆಯಿಂದ ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಈ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದ ಅವರಲ್ಲಿ ನನಗೆ ವಿಶ್ವಾಸವುಂಟಾಯಿತು. ಆಗಾಗ್ಗೆ ಅವರನ್ನು ನಗರ ಪರೀಕ್ಷಣೆಗೆ ಕರೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗುತ್ತಿದ್ದೆ. ಈ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದ ನನ್ನ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಸಮಂಜಸ ಉಂಟಾಯಿತು. ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ಗಲಭೆಗಳನ್ನು ಅಡಗಿಸಿದ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೋಮಿನವರ ಸೌಹಾರ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಅಡಿ ಎಂದಿತು. ಬಹಳ ಕಾಲದವರೆಗೂ ಆ ಸೌಹಾರ್ದ ವಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ." ಎಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ ಅವರೆ ಸರ್ ಎಂ. ವಿಶ್ವೇಶ್ವರಯ್ಯ ನವರ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷತೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನೇಮಕವಾದ ಸಮಿತಿಯ ವರದಿಯ ವಿಷಯಗಳಾಗಲಿ, ಇತರ ವಿಷಯಗಳಾಗಲಿ ಪುಸ್ತಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಇಲ್ಲ.

ಸ್ವಾಯಮಾಂಗದ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ವಿಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರ ಪುಸ್ತಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಭಿಮಾನಪೂರ್ವಕವಾದ ವಾಕ್ಯಗಳಿವೆ. ಹೈಕೋರ್ಟಿನ ದಕ್ಷತೆ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ನ್ಯಾಯಾಂಗದ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಮೈಸೂರು ಮುನ್ನಡೆ ಇಟ್ಟಿತ್ತು. ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ನ್ಯಾಯಾಂಗದ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಕಾಯಾ ವಾಚಾ ಮನಸಾ ಹಿಂದೂ ಅಡ್ಡಿ ಉಂಟು ಮಾಡಿಲ್ಲ" ಅಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಎಲ್ಲರೂ ಒಪ್ಪತಕ್ಕದ್ದೇ ಆಗಿದೆ.

ಮಹಾತ್ಮಾ ಗಾಂಧಿಯವರನ್ನು ಕರ್ಮಾಣ ಪಾರ್ಕನಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಅತಿಥಿಗಳನ್ನಾಗಿ ಗೌರವಿಸಿದ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀ ಎಂ ವೈಸರಾಯ್ ಲಾರ್ಡ್ ವಿಲ್ಲಿಂಗ್‌ಡನ್ ರಿಗೂ ಪತ್ರ ಬರೆದ ವೃತ್ತಾಂತವನ್ನು ಪುಸ್ತಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹು ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ವಿವರಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

"ಲಾರ್ಡ್ ವಿಲ್ಲಿಂಗ್‌ಡನ್‌ರು, ತಾವೇ ಸ್ವತಃ ಶ್ರೀವೆಸ್ಟ್ ಮಹಾತ್ಮಾಜಿಗೆ ಪತ್ರ ಬರೆದ. ಮಹಾತ್ಮಾ ಗಾಂಧಿಯವರಿಗೆ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಅತಿಥಿ ಗೌರವವನ್ನು ಕೊಡಲೂಡದೆಂದು ಬರೆದರು. ಮಹಾರಾಜರ ಸೈನ್ಯ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿ ಮಹಾರಾಜರು ಸ್ವತಃ ಪತ್ರ ಬರೆಯಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ..... ನಾನು ಆ ಮೇಲೆ ದೇವರಾಯರ ಕೈ ಮೇಲೆ ಸಕ್ರಿಯವಾಗುವಂತೆ ಬರೆದು, ಮಹಾತ್ಮಾ ಗಾಂಧಿಯವರಿಗೆ ಅತಿಥಿ ಗೌರವವನ್ನು ನೀಡದೇ ಇದ್ದರೆ ಜನರು ಬೇರೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟಾರೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ತಿಳಿಸಿದೆ. ದೇವರಾಯರು ನನ್ನ ಮಾತುಗಳನ್ನು ಗೌರವಿಸಿದರು" ಎಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾರವರ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವವನ್ನು ಕಂಡರೆ ಬ್ರಿಟಿಷ್ ಆಳುಕಗಾರರಿಗೆ ಯಾವ ಮರ್ಯಾದೆ ಇತ್ತು ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಇದು ಉದಾಹರಣೆ.

ಸರ್ ಮೋಕ್ಷಗುಂಡಂ ವಿಶ್ವೇಶ್ವರಯ್ಯನವರ ಸೇವೆಯನ್ನು ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾರವರ ಹತ್ತಿರ ಕುರಿತು ಹೊಗಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. "ಭದ್ರಾವತಿ ಮತ್ತು ಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಜಸಾಗರವೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಅನೇಕ ವಿಷಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮೈಸೂರು ಅವರಿಗೆ ಋಣಿಯಾಗಿದೆ" ಅಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ರೌಂಡ್ ಟೇಬಲ್ ಸಮ್ಮೇಳನದಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆದ ಜರ್ಜೆ ಮತ್ತು ಫೆಡರಲ್ ರಾಜ್ಯಾಂಗದ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಗಿದ್ದ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪಿಸಿ ಕಾಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ಸಿನವರು ಆ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪಿದರೆ ಹಲವೆಯೇ ಬೇರೆಯಾಗುತ್ತಿತ್ತು" ಎಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಸರ್ದಾರ್ ಪಟೇಲರೊಡನೆ ವಿರಸ

ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ "ಪೊಲೀಸ್ ಆಕ್ಷನ್" ಆದ ಮೇಲೆ ತಾವಾಗಿ ಸರ್ದಾರ್ ಪಟೇಲರೊಡನೆ ವಿರಸವುಂಟಾಯಿತೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ವಿವರವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿಸಿ "ನಾನು ನೈಜಾಮರ ಭೇಟಿ ಮಾಡಬೇಕೆಂದು ಇಂಡಿಯಾ ಸರ್ಕಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಬರೆದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಸರ್ದಾರ್ ಪಟೇಲರು ಒಪ್ಪಲಿಲ್ಲ. ದೇಶದ ಹಿತದಿಂದ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ ಮಾಡಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಅವರು ಅಡ್ಡಿ ಇಲ್ಲ ಎಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅದರೆ ಒಳ್ಳೆ ಮಿತ್ರರು. ಆದರೆ ಒಡಕಿನ ಶಕ್ತಿಗಳು ಹೌದು ಅಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಪ್ರಧಾನಿ ನೆಹರೂರವರ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವವನ್ನೂ, ರಾಜಕಾರಣ ವೈಶಿಷ್ಟ್ಯವನ್ನೂ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪಿಸಿ ಅವರನ್ನು ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ ಅಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾರವರು ಕಾಶ್ಮೀರದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಸೂಕ್ತವು ಅನೇಕ ಜನರಿಗೆ ಒಪ್ಪಿಗೆಯಾಗದುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಕಾಶ್ಮೀರ ಸ್ವಾನದ ವಶದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಭಾಗವನ್ನು ಕಾಶ್ಮೀರ ಸ್ವಾನದವರೇ ಉಳಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕೆಂದೂ, ಜಮ್ಮು ಮತ್ತು ಲಡಕ್ಕ್‌ಗಳು ಭಾರತಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ಕಣಿವೆ ಉಭಯರಿಗೂ ಸೇರಕೂಡದೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ ಸೂತ್ರ ವಾದವಿವಾದಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಡಬಹುದು.

ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾರವರ ಅರ್ಧ ಶತಮಾನದ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಜೀವಿತದಲ್ಲಿ ಇನ್ನೂ ಅನೇಕ ಸಂಗತಿಗಳಿದ್ದರೂ ಅದನ್ನವರು ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪಿಸಿಲ್ಲ. ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಜೀವನ ಹೇಗೆ ರೂಪುಗೊಂಡಿತು. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಪಕ್ಷ ಪ್ರತಿಪಕ್ಷಗಳ ಧೋರಣೆ ಯಾವ ರೀತಿ ಪ್ರವಹಿಸಿತು. ಮೈಸೂರು ಕಾಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ಸಿನ ಉದಯ ಯಾವ ರೀತಿ ಆಯಿತು ತಮಗೂ ಕಾಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ವೈಷಮ್ಯದ ಭಿನ್ನಾಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ ಒದಗಿತು ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾರವರ ಬರವಣಿಗೆಯಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯಬಹುದು ಅನೇಕರು ಕುತೂಹಲಕಾರಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅದರೆ ಅವರು ಹೇಳಿದಂತೆ "ಯಾರ ಮನಸ್ಸನ್ನೂ ನೋಯಿಸಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಇಚ್ಛೆ ಇಲ್ಲ" ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುತ್ತುಕ ಅನು ಎಣಿಸಾಗಿದೆ.

ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾರವರು ಅನೇಕ ಬ್ರಿಟಿಷ್ ಮೇಧಾವಿಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪಿಸಿ ಅವರ ಸ್ನೇಹ ಭಾಗ್ಯವನ್ನು ಕೊಂಡಾಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆಗಿನ ಆ ರಜಳ್ಳಿಯ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಬ್ರಿಟಿಷ್ ರಾಜಕಾರಣಿಗಳ ಸ್ನೇಹ ಭಾಗ್ಯ ಪಡೆಯುವುದೆಂದರೆ ಅ ಒಂದು ಹೆಮ್ಮೆ ಎಂಬ ನಂಬಿಕೆ ಇತ್ತು.

ಹೈದರಾಬಾದಿನ ತಮ್ಮ ಹತ್ತು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಸೇವೆಯನ್ನು ಬಹು ವಿಷದವಾಗಿ ವಿವರಿಸಿ ರಜಾಕರ ದುಷ್ಟ ಚಟುವಟಿಕೆಗಳನ್ನು ಖಂಡಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಸರ್ ಮಿರ್ಜಾರವರ ಈ ಪುಸ್ತಕವನ್ನು ಮೈಸೂರಿನವರೆಲ್ಲರೂ ಆಸಕ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ಓದಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಅವರು ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷ ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ನಿರಾಣಕರ್ತರಲ್ಲೊಬ್ಬರು. ಇನ್ನ ಅನೇಕ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳಿಗೆ ಅವರೇ ಕಾರಣರು. ಅವರ ದಿವಾನ್‌ಗಿರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರು ತೋರಿಸಿದ ಶ್ರದ್ಧೋತ್ಸಾಹಗಳನ್ನು ಯಾರೂ ಮರೆಯುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ. ಅವರ ಕೆಲವು ರೀತಿನೀತಿಗಳ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಜನರಿಗೆ ಭಿನ್ನಾಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವಿದ್ದರೂ ಅವರ ದೇಶಭಕ್ತಿ, ವಿಶಾಲ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಭಾವ ಮತ್ತು ಸ್ನೇಹಪರತೆಯನ್ನು ಎನ್ನ ಕೊಂಡಾಡಿದರೂ ಸಾಲದು.

WHY SO DIPLOMATIC ?

AUGUST 15, 1947 was not just a change of government; it was probably a revolution. But if so, it was an unusual revolution, in the sense that it preserved a great deal that it might have been expected to destroy; and in the cause of this forbearance, that it had not (and has not yet) made up its mind where it wants to go from here.

The possibility remains open, therefore, that it will prove not to have been a revolution at all. This will be so if the secular democratic state of the Nehru pattern consolidates itself. For that is what a large proportion, and the best representatives, of the rulers of the old order were aiming at.

One of these is Sir Mirza Ismail, whose political autobiography* is a series of admonitions to the public and the rulers of the new order not to stray from the lines laid down under the old. His advice is not, as might have been supposed, obviously futile, because we have not yet made the revolutionary break, in any of the possible directions.

It is a brief book. Sir Mirza seems much afraid of being regarded as a bore. He writes a page or two on his own family background and early life, then two or three short but enthusiastic chapters on Mysore and the late Maharaja, and then gets down to his reminiscence-lectures.

There is scarcely any inside information or scandal such as we look for in political autobiographies. Indeed Sir Mirza ought to have been far less discreet. The only exceptions concern Hyderabad. He tells the story, already fairly well known, of Jinnah's attempt to prevent the Nizam appointing him as Prime Minister. Jinnah entered the room smoking a cigar and sat down with his legs outstretched. H E H. exclaimed: "Do you know who I am? Is this the way you behave towards the Nizam of Hyderabad?" The rest of the interview, which lasted only a short time, seems to have been in the same strain, and Jinnah could scarcely make himself heard.

Sir Mirza was out of office but acted as a sort of half-acknowledged intermediary during the negotiations which preceded the policy action. He abandons his diplomatic manners to the extent of calling the Ittehad-ul-Muslimin "poisonous". But they obtained the ear of the Nizam, who was "bent upon independence". Sir Mirza found himself losing the confidence of the Nizam and resigned after ten months.

A year later the Hyderabad kettle was coming to the boil, and he tried to intervene from outside. A number of letters passed, and he advised the Nizam that the only way to save the State and something of its special position was to accept integration on the three crucial subjects, defence, foreign affairs and communications, and to dismiss the Ittehad ministers; then, he had found, the Government of India were willing to concede the draft agreement drawn up by Monckton and Mountbatten. He tried to get Mountbatten to visit Hyderabad, tried to get the Nizam to receive Munshi, and advised against an appeal to the U N. But the Nizam was firmly in the control of the Ittehad group, and he achieved nothing.

Beyond this, he records a slight disagreement with Willingdon about entertaining the Mahatma in Mysore, and with the Political Department about his lavish expenditure on improvements in Jaipur. He fears that the Political Department was too conservative altogether. Otherwise he seems to have got on well with everybody. He speaks highly of Baldwin and Hoare, in particular.

Thus there is little autobiography in this book. It is mainly advice on the preservation of the secular state and on maintaining educational standards, preventing corruption, and so forth. Sir Mirza believes in the monarchical principle, in the personal touch in administration, in parks and cleanliness and beauty in town and village, in English in Indian education, in missionary colleges, in the Commonwealth connection. But it is not mere sighing for the past. Except that he regrets partition, and wishes that his idea of a greater Indian federation of India, Ceylon, Burma and Nepal could have materialised, Sir Mirza wastes no space over what might have been.

He seems to realise, too, that even the liberal order we have is precariously perched amid dangers on all sides. Quite recently he spent a few uncomfortable months in Indonesia, which he portrays as almost a chaos (he seems to be right), and visited Iran, Iraq and Egypt, which are just as bad. There, but for the grace of God, goes India, he seems to say.

But India is not so very much better, and is sliding towards their situation, in which the expert administrator is neglected or non-existent, and the country becomes "the paradise of the professional politician." The author's bias, of course; but can we afford to ignore it?

My Public Life by Sir Mirza Ismail (Allen and Unwin, 18sh).

The Searchlight

ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY

SUNDAY, MAY 23, 1954.

A STATESMAN'S MEMOIRS

By M.S.M. Sharma

Sir Mirza Ismail's *MY PUBLIC LIFE* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 18 sh net) is of that class of books which, according to Gibbon, are faithful mirrors that reflect to our mind the minds of sages and heroes. Sir Mirza himself is a hero in many ways. His autobiography, like Cordel Hull's and Churchill's diaries, have in it enough of dependable material for the guidance of the historian of the future. For, is it not true, as Emerson so aptly puts it, that there is properly no history but only biography?. Sir Mirza's penmanship is deft; it is exquisite. His remarkable character as a gentleman to his finger tips is writ large in every line of the interesting book. No harsh word mars the easy flow nor is there any attempt at smartness which might offend or wound. Like a skilled surgeon who deftly uses his knife to heal. Sir Mirza Ismail puts to use his language for the purpose of provoking thought, not to create misunderstanding. The history of his times in which he had played a wonderful part has been faithfully narrated in a scientific spirit and reasonable temper.

The unique progress made by that model State, Mysore, under his personal guidance and attention has been narrated with a modesty which might lead one to think that Sir Mirza Ismail was recounting somebody else's achievements rather than his own. This type of modesty is at once welcome and impressive. A great author says that modesty is to merit as shades to figures in a picture, giving it strength and beauty. He is one of the great trio who made modern Mysore what it is today. Sir K. Seshadri Aiyar cleared the jungle and levelled the ground while Sir M. Visvesvarayya ploughed the field, and Sir Mirza Ismail sowed the seeds, raised and reared the plants, the fruits whereof are today reaped by the Congress Government which might exploit them to their advantage if they had vision. With a wealth of detail which is as interesting as it is useful, the author's contribution to the wealth of Mysore as the Father of as many as 26 industries has been narrated. Everybody today talks of a welfare State. How Sir Mirza truly made Mysore and Jaipur genuine Welfare States without the aid of loud speakers might well afford an example to modern administrators dependent on publicity in and out of time for any activity of theirs.

In dealing about Mysore, Sir Mirza has unconsciously omitted to say anything about the great part he played in promoting communal unity in keeping with the great traditions of that unique State. The first and foremost Peetha established by Bhagawan Shri Shamkaracharya flourishes in Mysore. The acknowledged high-priest of Hinduism is the presiding Pontiff as a successor to the great exponent of monism. An orthodox Brahmana, His Holiness has always shown great love and affection to Sir Mirza who, like Hyderali and Tippu Sultan, tended and nourished the Sringeri Jagir created by the Emperors of the never to be forgotten Empire of Vijayanagar. The heads of the Vaishnava and Madhwa Maths in the Mysore State showed similar reverence to him. Every Hindu temple in Mysore accorded to this Muslim nobleman all *vedic* honours as if he was an orthodox Brahmana himself. It used to be said by Mrs Besant that a true Hindu would be a true Muslim and *vice versa* Because he was devoted to Islam, Sir Mirza Ismail was able to appeal to the better mind of the Hindus known for their toleration and tolerance. Personally, I hope and trust that Sir Mirza will soon bring out another edition and devote a special chapter to his monumental work in Mysore as a real ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

The author's recital of his stewardship of the Nizam's Dominions grips the reader's attention because of its singular lack of anything even distantly smacking of temperamentalism. If only the Nizam had listened to the wise words of wisdom of his distinguished Prime Minister the history of Hyderabad would have been different. But a hypothetical proposition is of little use save as a warning to the future; the past could not be undone. The Nizam at least should be grateful to Sir Mirza for presenting His Exalted Highness to the world in brighter colours than many had thought possible. Many people in this country are content to believe that the Nizam, willingly or unwillingly, was a patron of Mr Jinnah's school of politics. Facts are always stranger than fiction. We have Sir Mirza's word for it that on one occasion, the august Qai'd-e-Azam tried to browbeat the Nizam by exhibiting his impudence and discourtesy bordering on rudeness. The Nizam turned him out and made mincemeat of Mr Jinnah. If only to read this authentic version of the historic interview which ended in a fiasco for the League leader, no booklover can afford to miss Sir Mirza's memoirs.

One characteristic feature of Sir Mirza's greatness is that he is never a fair weather friend. His tributes to the Birlas, especially to Mr Ghanshyamdas Birla, breathe a Gandhian spirit and a Gandhian understanding. Pathetic indeed is his defence of the Ranas of Nepal whom circumstances have compelled to live low as refugees in Bangalore. Sir Mirza's affection and love for Gandhiji got the better of his "duty" to British Imperialism whose wrath he had had to face for recognising the greatness of the Mahatma. Once actually he came into conflict with Lord Willingdon with whom the author was on the friendliest terms but that would not permit Sir Mirza to relinquish one friend for the sake of another. Sir Mirza's statesmanship is of that variety of which Alger writes: "True statesmanship is the art of changing a nation from what it is into what it ought to be."

Sir Mirza's brief book of memoirs is a garden, an orchard; it is a counsellor and a university. It seems such a pity that in Swaraj India we have no use for tried statesmen of Sir Mirza's type.

BOOK REVIEWS

AN ELDER STATESMAN

My Public Life: Sir Mirza Ismail. Allen & Unwin, London. 18 sh

Few public men in India have had the range of administrative and political experience vouchsafed to Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore for 16 years, an intimate friend of the great Maharaja Shri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar IV of Mysore, and a vigorous Prime Minister of Jaipur His administrative experience alone would have justified a longer book than has now appeared. There is to be added his constant contacts with political sources both in India and abroad Sir Mirza was an important member of all the three Round Table Conferences He was a personal friend of the Mahatma, and his correspondence with Gandhiji continued unabated till the latter's tragic end in 1948 It would appear that the publishers have reduced the size of Sir Mirza's original memoirs so as to accommodate them in a Procrustean bed which has taken no account of the wealth of the original material It is sincerely to be hoped that many aspects of Sir Mirza's experience not described in the present book will soon appear in another volume

In one sense, Sir Mirza belongs to an age outside our own His identity of interest with the late Maharaja of Mysore certainly gave him reason to find greater virtue in autocratic rule than the people of India will now admit Possibly because of this attachment to one of the most remarkable figures of our time, Sir Mirza has been critical of the great movement which swept the Princes from power after Independence Opinions on this may well differ It is likely that history will illustrate the impossibility of leaving Indian India relatively lightly touched by the revolutionary current which swept through British India before Partition It may be, therefore, that his judgment on the Indian States, which is naturally affected overwhelmingly by his experience in the model State of Mysore, will not be considered good general counsel

What will awaken, and, indeed, has already awakened, special interest is the relation between Sir Mirza and some controversial figures in India's political life His differences with Mr Jinnah were profound There is hardly anyone in India who will fail to appreciate Sir Mirza's lone stand against the passion for Pakistan which was sweeping through his community It needed high courage to take that stand It was maintained with dignity and skill, although Pakistan was not slower in coming on this account

The description of his relations with the Nizam show how tortuous were the ways of some Princely States It was a great tragedy for the Nizam that he was unable to appreciate the talents of his counsellor and friend, Sir Mirza, in a brilliantly successful career, full of personal loyalties, deserved in this last appointment far greater trust

The book is one which will be widely read as much for its author as for its own interest Its heart, like that of its author, is in Mysore which owes to his insight and industry more than it can ever repay.

THE TIMES
1785

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TELEPHONE CENTRAL 2000

April 21, 1954

My dear Sir Mirza,

Many thanks for your letter of April 10 — I am so glad that you liked my notice of your book. I enjoyed reading it so much that I wanted to persuade others to share my pleasure!

Are we likely to see you over here this year? There is a chance that my wife and I may be coming to India for two or three weeks about November. The Prime Minister has very kindly asked us to be national guests, so I hope to spend my annual leave this way. The Times does not like its staff to accept invitations of this kind in the way of duty; but is very glad if they go to "useful" places in their own time!

With kindest regards and all good wishes

Yours very sincerely

L F Rushbrook Williams

Sir M. Ismail

DURRANT'S PRESS CUTTINGS
29-39, Mount Pleasant, London, W.C.1.
Telephone: CENTRAL 3140 (Two Lines).

The Times
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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

ISMAIL, SIR MIRZA *My Public Life.* Recollections and Reflections. 9×6 179pp Illustrated. Allen and Unwin 18s.

Reviewed on page 212

N SERVICE

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL. *My Public Life.* Recollections and Reflections Allen and Unwin. 18s.

It has been a source of surprise to knowledgeable people that Sir Mirza Ismail, who is incomparably the ablest and most successful administrator whom India has produced during the last generation, should have been virtually laid on the shelf when his country became independent. His work in Mysore became almost legendary for the sheer magnitude of his achievements; it gained him the esteem, and indeed the affection, of the entire State, from the Maharaja down to the humblest villager. He was the valued counsellor of many of the men, whether British or Indian, who shaped the destinies of India during the period before and after the last war. Himself a Shiah of ancient Persian stock, he counts close friends among Sunnis, Hindus and Christians, and no man alive is more free from sectarian bias. Both by long experience and by natural ability Sir Mirza Ismail would qualify for inclusion in any cabinet in the world. Yet the new rulers of India have passed him by except for some almost casual use of his services on a commission or two.

This book goes far to explain the riddle. "I have in my life," he writes, "practised very few economies of truth in the expression of my opinion, and this habit has got me into trouble sometimes, both with the British Government of India and with the present Government in Delhi." It is true that his long and distinguished career has brought him many warm friends and admirers; but his incisive mind and his refusal to subordinate his own high standards to the political fashions of the moment make him impatient of cant and time-servers. Although he has the kindest heart, he can never refrain from exposing muddled thinking; and he has the unforgivable knack of being usually right. Never a good party man because he can see the weakness of the side he believes to be right as clearly as the faults of the side he believes to be mistaken, he has remained politically, in spite of many friends and warm human relationships, in a position of intellectual loneliness and detachment, which has barred him from high office.

Yet there is nothing bitter about this book. The author takes sincere pleasure—which all his readers can share—in the interesting people whom he has worked with and the interesting things that he has done. Some of his achievements—his work in Jaipur and his very narrow failure to save Hyderabad from extinction—rank as footnotes to the history of his country. Many of those into whose hands this book will come may wish that he had expanded his illuminating comments upon the new India, upon the United Nations and upon the road which Asian countries must follow if they are to prosper in the independence they now enjoy. "I have decided otherwise," he writes, "desiring that my readers should wish for more rather than less." Both sentiment and language are typical of an uncompromising intellectual honesty as rare as it is refreshing.

Sir H. Ismail

DURRANT'S PRESS CUTTINGS
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John O'London's Weekly
8-11, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C.
Cutting from issue dated ..... 26 MAR 1954 .....

WISE MEN IN THE EAST

Anyone who has watched, as I have done, Sir Mirza Ismail preside over the Legislative Council of Mysore will have admired his ability to examine and annotate documents passed to him by two secretaries, while keeping a wary eye on the proceedings of the Council as they debated matters of such delicacy as the Untouchables' right to enter the temples

Sir Mirza publishes in *My Public Life* (Allen and Unwin, 18s) a photograph of his Maharaja inscribed "Ever your affectionate and devoted" Together they made Mysore the Model State of India, various wise Indian rulers sent their sons there to obtain administrative experience.

From the memoirs of a most respected Muslim statesman we pass to the efforts of a humble Muslim schoolmaster in *A Village in Anatolia* (Vallentine Mitchell, 18s) Mahmut Makal's book has been admirably translated by Sir Wyndham Deedes

It was all very well for the great Kemal Ataturk to command that his country should become westernized, it was less easy for the author to make headway against the reactionaries, who for a time had him imprisoned Now, however, he has become famous in his own country and this book will happily make him known here

HENRY BAERLEIN.

Sir. M. Ismail

DURRANT'S PRESS CUTTINGS
29-30, Mount Pleasant London, W.C.1.
Telephone: CENTRAL 3149 (Two Lines)

National and English Review
72, Coleman Street, London, E.C.2
Cutting from issue dated APRIL 1954

Sir Mirza Ismail's *My Public Life* (Allen and Unwin 18s) deals effectively with his work in Mysore, Jaipur and Hyderabad, and at the Indian Round Table Conference before the India Act of 1935

May 1854

My Dear Mirza

Our invaluable friend, Frank Brown, was good enough to suggest to the editor of the "Asian Review" that he should ask me to review your book for his magazine. This task I accepted, although I was handicapped in a way by my life-long friendship with you and by being limited to "some 400 words". I was glad however of the opportunity of correcting some remarks made in Foster's ~~and~~ review, which gave ~~the~~ uninformed reader the impressions (1) that the Maharaja was apparently a cipher in the hands of his Dewan (2) that your personal

efforts to save the Nizam after you left his service were, as it were a matter of course or routine instead of being a disinterested and difficult task very creditable to your great credit. And as a matter of fact, I have heard that there was considerable bloodshed when the Indian troops entered the State. By the way it was a pleasure to read that review in the "Morning Post" of which Frank sent me a copy. I envied him the unlimited space he could allot himself such as it is, I enclose a copy of my effort, for your information.

I am making the effort to go to London next week to attend the Reception which is being given by the Council of the Royal Empire Society in honour of Mr. late Secretary for so many years.

Marvellous as has been
the material help lavished
on the countries by America,
their Embittered and mistaken
foreign policy makes them
difficult allies to work with
Violet joins me as usual
in warm greetings and

I am

Yours ever

S A Fraser

P.S I avoid calling your
administrative work "tidying up"!
I don't think Forster likes you any
more than he seems to like his Bellac, Westminster!

There is no more popular man, and he deserves all the recognition given to him at his interview I have just joined the "Pakistan Society" a new institution very influentially supported by well-informed lecturers and correspondents. I think you would approve of it. Why not become a member?

The international complications which are now being discussed at Geneva are of an unprecedented importance

REVIEW

MY PUBLIC LIFE by SIR MIRZA ISMAIL, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., L.L.D.

(Allen & Unwin 16/-)

By Sir Stuart Fraser, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

The author was taught by me with the Maharajah of Mysore over fifty years ago, and our friendship continued during my five years as Resident in that State. He served as Prime Minister successively in Mysore, Jaipur and Hyderabad. Sir Mirza professes to be "A bureaucrat and no politician". Better has he been described as an able administrator, who combined the best of Indian and British traditions. Fortune favoured him in the field where he developed his talents, as Mysore was then already becoming a "model" State after fifty years of British administration. When Lord Curzon installed the young Maharajah he paid tribute to the Maharani-Regent and the succession of able ministers who governed the State. To the Viceroy the young Ruler owed the benefit of having two distinguished members of the I.C.S. as his Private Secretaries. Above all, however, the new Dewan enjoyed the advantage of warm personal friendship with the Maharajah, who, himself a keen judge of men, was selflessly glad to give his minister the credit for what the complete understanding between them accomplished.

His reputation already established, Sir Mirza took a prominent part in the Round Table Conference Sessions held in London and leading to the India Act of 1935. When the death of His Highness in 1940 ended this happy personal relationship, inevitably a change in the Dewanship was desired by both Sir Mirza and the twenty-year-old successor to the Gadi. From 1942 - 46 he was Prime Minister of Jaipur, and there too he enjoyed the confidence of a Maharajah who appreciated Sir Mirza's improvements in the administration for the betterment of his people. But those were turbulent times; the Congress Party was strong, and Jaipur had then no Constitution or safety-valves for popular agitation. Moreover, he had to contend

with the Mahasabha's determined opposition to a Muslim occupying a high position in a Hindu State. Charges of dictatorial action and extravagance in public expenditure were met by Sir Mirza but did not divert him from his reforming zeal and, before he left, a Constitution was created with the full support of the Ruler, the Rajasthan University was established and some of the Jaipur ancient buildings were rescued from ruin.

In August 1946 Sir Mirza accepted the Nizam's offer of the Prime Ministership of Hyderabad. Although beginning with the support of the Ruler, he soon found himself opposed by the Ittehad-ul-Muslameen, a powerful band of agitators who were encouraging the Nizam to demand a special position of independence in the new Indian Union. So, after only ten months, Sir Mirza felt compelled to admit failure and resign. Nevertheless this was not the end of his personal efforts to save the Nizam. He went to Delhi and, by correspondence with the Nizam, with Lord Mountbatten and the latter's successor as Governor-General, Mr. Rajagopalacharia, he continued endeavouring to get the Nizam's acceptance of compromise proposals worked out for him by Lord Mountbatten and Sir Walter Monckton. But all his efforts were in vain, and the unnecessary tragedy ensued of the armed invasion of Hyderabad by Indian troops with some bloodshed.

The course of events was fatal to the Indian States. The implication of the book that the Political Department discouraged attempts to associate the people with the administration, is not correct. Their Treaties precluded our direct interference with the autonomy of the Princes, except to prevent gross misgovernment. Lord Curzon had taught the Princes to regard themselves as his colleagues in the Government of India, and he established additional Chiefs' Colleges for the education of the young rulers-to-be. As the author writes, Federation might have led ultimately to their incorporation in the Commonwealth, had not the Transfer and Partition ended their paternal rule, which was generally preferred by the people to the colourless ministries established by the Indian Union. Sad it is to think that no Maharajah, even of the "model" State, will ever again receive the homage of his people in his traditional capacity as the "Representative in his own person of God to men and of men to God."

Sir Mirza's last spell of public service was the eight months he spent as U.N.O.'s representative in Indonesia. The comments of a trained elder Statesman on the difficulties facing the new Government there are instructive. And belittlers of British achievement may note his remark that while in India the administration was taken over as a going concern, the Dutch left behind the stupendous task of creating any efficient administrative structure.

H. Ismail

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Manchester Guardian
3, Cross Street, Manchester.

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MINISTER TO PRINCES

By Guy Wint

Sir Mirza Ismail is one the last surviving members of a peculiar and interesting corps—the professional administrators of the Indian princely states in the time of the British Raj. The major states were large and often well-governed units—quite unlike Mr E. M. Forster's Dewas—and their Prime Ministers formed a group which had a vital part to play in keeping the peace of the subcontinent. They had to modernise their states in order to keep pace with British India—while at the same time maintaining their limited independence. Sardar K. M. Panikkar first came to public notice as a member of this group. Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir Mirza Ismail were the two outstanding personalities of the slightly older generation.

Sir Mirza was by origin a Persian. His father settled in Mysore State, and the young Mirza was brought up as a companion and fellow-student of the Maharajah. Afterwards he became for many years his Prime Minister. His administration has become a legend, both because of the perfect relation between Maharajah and Minister and because of the enlightened if paternal administration which he conducted. Sir Mirza industrialised and modernised. But he was able to act with a virtuosity and elasticity which was impossible for the bureaucrats in British India. Having a passion for art and architecture, Sir Mirza made the Government of the state a patron in a way undreamed of in British India. After his Maharajah died he was Prime Minister in the two great states of Jaipur and Hyderabad He has now written his reminiscences in **My Public Life** (Allen and Unwin, pp. 180, 18s). They are valuable as the only autobiography in English by an administrator of a princely state. They are gracefully written and contain some interesting footnotes to history, as on the negotiations with the Nizam just before Delhi's "police action" against Hyderabad. The book commemorates a great many friendships, and thus—quite unintentionally—reflects the friendly and admirable nature of Sir Mirza himself.

M Ismail

DURRANT'S PRESS
29-39, Mount Pleasant, Londo
Telephone: CENTRAL 3149 (Tw

Evening Chron
Kemsley House, NEWCASTLE

Cutting from issue dated.....22..

* * *

"My Public Life," by Sir Mirza Ismail (Allen and Unwin, 18s.) is the Indian statesman's story of his career. It shows how well the best of Indian and British citizens could work together.

* * *

Sir Mirza Ismail

DURRANT'S PRESS CUTTINGS
29-39, Mount Pleasant, London, W.C.1.
Telephone: CENTRAL 3149 (Two Lines).

Newcastle Journal
Kemsley House, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Cutting from issue dated..... 8 MAR 1954 .....

Book Reviewed by Colin Watson

Old India

"My Public Life," by Sir Mirza Ismail. (Allen and Unwin, 18s.)

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL, whose memoirs will be of great interest to students of recent Indian history, is an elder statesman with an impressive record of administrative achievement in the old "India of the Princes."

He was a member of the sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference in London which prepared the way for the India Act of 1935 and for the ultimate attainment of independence.

ALLAHABAD,
April 24, 1954.

My dear and esteemed Sir Mirza,

What a shame I haven't so far even acknowledged your book and thanked you for it - and for the kind inscription! I wanted to write to you only after reading it from cover to cover - and also after taking public notice of it. And now I am making amends for the delay by sending you The Leader Weekly containing my review article at the head of the contents. My brothers Kameswara Prasad and Ananda Mohan (who are here now) tell me that on such a canvas and from such an angle only I could have written. But I will be interested in hearing something of your own reaction to the performance.

Without prejudice to my appraisal which is for public consumption, I must for your personal information say what I feel. In my view it is an incomplete book. The new edition should incorporate the chapters omitted and also fresh material if any and be sumptuous. It will certainly have a big demand. I hope that the present edition will be soon out of market.

Have you sent a copy to Mr. Nehru - and have you heard from him ? It was so good of you to have sent me typed copies of the reviews from England. They make such excellent reading.

The one thing that gripped my attention most in the book is of extreme personal interest. Do you know that August 15 - the day of the death of your dear old Ali Asker happens to be the birthday of my son - Gopala Ratnam! And it is a day, now of historical significance, as the day of India's emergence into freedom.

It is all blazes now at this place - a fact which you in Bangalore can't appreciate. And yet on a hot day I read your book at one sitting and on another wrote about it at another single sitting! But isn't it Love's Labour not lost but won ?

With respectful salutations,

I am,
Ever yours devotedly,

Sd. K. ISWARA DUTT.

COPY

ALLAHABAD, SUNDAY, APRIL 25, 1954.

MEMOIRS OF AN ELDER STATESMAN

by 'ATTICUS'

EXACTLY 130 years ago a certain Ali Asker, hardly sixteen years of age arrived in Bangalore from Shiraz with a string of horses from Arabia and the Persian Gulf and started equipping the Maharaja's stables and the military—and incidentally the city's palatial rooms with Persian carpets He liked the place for its charms and climate and settled down in affluence he rose to be the largest landowner both in the city and the civil and military station and was familiarly known as the 'Jaghirdar' of High Ground When he died at the venerable age of 83, having resisted the temptation of planting his sons in Government service despite repeated suggestions from a succession of British Residents and Indian Dewans whose friendship he enjoyed he could hardly know that he was leaving behind among

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL

others, a grandson who was destined to head Mysore's Government and make the State a model to the rest of the country

Born in 1883 educated with the Maharajah-to be and intimately associated with life in the court Mirza Ismail (later Sir Mirza) was groomed for State service under direct Princely auspices Courtliness and decorum tact and urbanity and above all imagination had their reward when in 1926 he was appointed a Dewan It was a great day in his life as well as in the history of the State For the next 15 years his name became a synonym for Mysore while Mysore became a pattern for the country

Historical Setting

Sir Mirza's association with Mysore was part of a historical setting The state had then a ruler (H H Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur) who was one of the most respected Princes that had ever sat on a throne A man of saintly qualities he was a devout Hindu Yet he could not have any Dewan other than Sir Mirza, though a man of a different faith while Sir Mirza on his side would not think of anything except service to this particular Hindu ruler For an example of Hindu Muslim collaboration for the good of a state and the people the Krishnaraja Wadiyar-Mirza Ismail partnership was the most outstanding within living memory

It was during his Mysore days that Sir Mirza had established his best contacts in life and won a wider renown At the R T C he played a notable part which earned for him golden laurels as much from British statesmen as from Indian leaders Mahatma Gandhi not excluded In those difficult days when Hindu Muslim relations on the one hand and Indo British ones on the other were put to the severest strain Sir Mirza by his breadth of mind and absolute freedom from communal and social bias had almost singled himself out as the friend of all and the enemy of none and as a statesman who subordinated all considerations to the larger good of India and humanity In 1941 when in the wake of the death of the Maharajah which to him was 'the biggest blow he had known in life—he felt impelled to withdraw one of the brightest chapters in the annals of Mysore came to a close There has been nothing in our history comparable in volume or content or quality to the public tributes paid to him on the occasion

Post-Mysore Years

After Mysore for Sir Mirza the sun had visibly taken its downward course though there was an occasional spell of radiance Jaipur which beckoned to him handsomely was quite a welcome change and during the four years and odd he was there as premier he did what was not achieved nor even attempted during the preceding forty years That Jaipur—and perhaps through Jaipur Rajasthan—owed to him its touch of modernity and democratisation was a fact which not even a perverted historian can ever twist It would be wrong to say that he wasted his 'sweetness on desert air'

He left his foot-prints on Rajasthan's desert sands but not a trace of him was left on Hyderabad's rocky boulders Whether he should or should not have gone there is a debatable question But Atticus had always desired that Sir Mirza should take the risk and was glad that he had taken it Hyderabad had only two alternatives—either to take full advantage of his stay and profit by his statesmanship or to repudiate him and go to pieces The Nizam and his advisers rambled and lost Sir Mirza and everything else precious It was too late in the day and a tribe die to shed tear over the 7 th Nizam who excelled as the spiritual descendant of the Bourbons Sir Mirza's later day interventions in his behalf could not do the Nizam any good and possibly did him (Sir Mirza himself) some harm

Memorable Scene

After a restless interval Sir Mirza had occasion to go to Indonesia as UN Technical Assistance Representative but it was not given to him to be there for long possibly because of a phy

(Continued on p 8)

Facets Of A Great Life

(Continued from page 1)

ical breakdown. He returned home for rest. There was wide regret that Free India had little use for him His enforced retirement had its compensations He could find time to pay a long-overdue visit to the land of his forbears and to reduce his memories of men and things and his reactions to the changing public scene to writing If the first is a matter of pure personal satisfaction the second is one of wide public importance A long and distinguished administrative career inside knowledge of the Princely scene intimate association with some of the leading contemporaries at home and abroad, wisdom born of experience and a highly cultivated mind have invested his memoirs with an importance by no means common. Some of his experiences are as rare as his traits In a highly readable book* written with ease and lucidity he has surveyed a memorable scene from the personal angle and yet with a detachment that does him credit His estimates of men are revealing: they are extremely frank and none the less fair

The one episode in the book which aroused something of exciting interest was the quarrel over him between the Nizam and the Quadi Azam It was a memorable scene when the man who excelled in snubbing almost every one who had crossed his path. himself snubbed by the ruler of Hyderabad, had to leave the palace first and the State next, in a huff Nor were relations at any time cordial between Sir Mirza and Mr Jinnah. The Muslim League which to Mr Jinnah was everything, was to Sir Mirza nothing and if Mr. Jinnah staked his all on the creation of Pakistan, Sir Mirza was one of the first and the foremost in India to decry the very idea Having served a Hindu state and a Hindu ruler with rare devotion and earned the friendship of so many Hindus, he could not think in terms of Muslim League which was anti-Hindu and Pakistan he grew to be and has remained an Indian first last and always

Independent Liberal

Sir Mirza enjoyed the personal friendship of several Congress leaders but he was by no means pro-Congress as his Muslim critics described him to be. He has no party mind In politics or Indian public life he has always been an independent liberal or an elder statesman, in the line of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru whose attitude to the British he shared on a higher plane. But even where the British came into the picture, he was constructively critical and upheld the honour of India Prophetic was his utterance at the R.T.C, years before independence, when he said

> By relaxing her political hold on India, Britain would be infinitely strengthening her moral hold and binding India more closely to herself

He should be glad that this has come true as much because of Indian statesmanship as the British

His reading of the international politics has convinced him that 'Governments in the East do not enjoy the confidence and respect of the public they serve'. And here is a more ruthless dictum:

> Our countries so easily become the paradise of the professional politician.

Perhaps there is no known way of escaping from this phase in democracies. But Sir Mirza is hardly reconciled to such integration of India as has taken place and to the virtual disappearance of the Princely Order. He has made no secret of his feelings

> Inexperienced men, unaccustomed to auththority, and subject to personal and party pressure, are now Ministers in the former Princely States.
>
> The tendency to kill all initiative in local administration is unfortunate for India.

Some of his judgments may seem harsh. But none can quarrel with him when he says.

> By killing all local loyalty and initiative, you do not strengthen but weaken the country
>
> It is pathetic to see the fate that has overtaken these fine places (Princes' palaces in Delhi). They are being used as offices and present a dismal appearance instead of being embellishment to the city.
>
> Administrations in India, with hardly any exception, have taken little or no interest in the improvement of their cities and towns; the villages, of course, need hardly be mentioned.

Sir Mirza with his passion for beauty in life and surroundings and life-long labour for the emergence of a welfare state is the enemy of all neglect and he is severely critical of all opportunities, lost or missed, for promoting public welfare.

'Great Contemporaries'

On the wider front his survey of the contemporary scene particularly in regard to Kashmir, Indonesia and the Middle East is conspicuous for its perspective. For want of space in this review-article Atticus must hurriedly pass on to Sir Mirza's estimate of his 'great contemporaries

The Maharaja of Mysore—Purity of soul, kindness of heart, generosity of disposition, patience and tolerance, a wise judgment of men and affairs—these are qualities which His Highness possessed in an eminent degree.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—I looked upon Sir Tej as the finest type of Indian, and as a model for Young India to copy

Rt. Hon V. S. Srinivasa Sastri—An able politician, a man of deep learning and culture and the most polished of all Indian speakers in English.

Mr. Nehru—By every test he is one of the greatest men of this century.

There is much in Sir Mirza's memoirs to interest the reader and arrest his attention. Atticus' may make a confession—flattering to the author—that he has read the whole book at a single sitting, having closed it with a longing for more rather than less. How much more absorbing it would have been if the text lacked no continuity of theme or the chapters the element of coordination. The second edition—and there is sure to be one—may well be a cheaper Indian edition and a more elaborate version too, to do full justice to the author's richness of experience and ripeness of wisdom. Nobody who handles even the present edition can put it aside without the melancholy reflection that so outstanding an Indian has been neglected to the loss of the country when there has been a pressing need for harnessing calibre and character to the service of India on a larger front. But has not Sir Mirza himself anticipated the question and answered it too?

> I have in my life practised very few economies of truth in the expression of my opinion, and this habit has got me into trouble sometimes, both with the British Government of India and with the present Government in Delhi.

---

*MY PUBLIC LIFE: by Sir Mirza Ismail (George Allen and Unwin Ltd) 1954; pp 174; price 18 sh. net.

Sir Mirza Looks Back, With Some Regrets

THERE have been few persons in India in distinguished official positions during the period before independence who have yet acquired for themselves a reputation for progressive administration

Sir Mirza Ismail can probably claim to be one of the more prominent of these

His sphere of action was the India of the Princes As Dewan of Mysore, and Prime Minister of Jaipur he made swift and significant changes in the areas he governed.

As Prime Minister of Hyderabad from August 1946 to May 1947 he did his best to influence the course of events in a direction different from that ultimately took

Earlier Sir Mirza Ismail attended the Round Table Conference in London as a representative of Mysore and other South Indian States and later he went to Indonesia as United Nations Technical Assistance Representative

When a person of such varied experiences, who combines qualities of leadership and administrative abilities with sympathetic insight into the aim and purpose of government publishes an autobiographical study it is bound to attract considerable attention

Unfortunately it is presented in a pedestrian style which does little credit to the material contents of the book

★

The slim volume of recollections and reflections presents a strange picture not least of the author himself

THERE IS AN ARTLESSNESS IN HIS COMMENTS WHICH TAKES ONE BY SURPRISE IN PERSON OF HIS STANDING AND EXPERIENCE

Yet, on second thought, one realises that there is much wisdom in those pronouncements no matter how much they may injure our feelings and go against our prejudices on various problems, or how much we

ISMAIL

The artlessness in his comments takes one by surprise.

may still feel compelled to disagree with them

About the integration of the States, for example, he argues

'By killing all local loyalty and initiative you do not strengthen but weaken the country

'As regards the voice of the people it could have prevailed in the Indian States (as it actually did in some States) as much as it does in the new India

"To say that India is now a more united, a more homogeneous and a more powerful country than it was in the British days before the disappearance of the Princely States is a claim which certainly errs on the side of exaggeration

It is evident from his writings that in his attitude to administration he differed from many of the others who were associated with the Indian States

And evidently he had the ability to get things done, as well as sufficient interest in the schemes of improvement he proposed to persist in them despite opposition from those whose approval he should have considered important

★

Evidently this made Mysore or example a model State

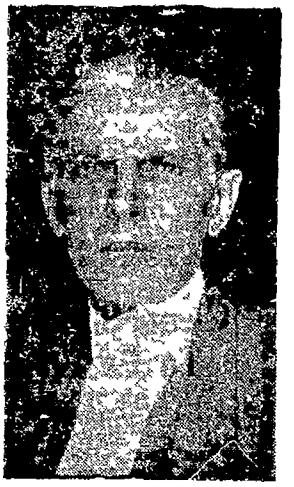
HE HAD STRONG IDEAS ON HOW A CITY SHOULD LOOK AND HOW ITS SERVICES SHOULD BE PLANNED

Beautiful buildings wide roads and well-arranged parks and open spaces he considered of great importance

For them he devoted much time money and energy, all of which seemed well justified by the results

He was not concerned merely with the outward aspects of these matters The establishment of good educational institutions was his special interest

He made special efforts for instance to get the American Jesuits, whose school and



JINNAH

There is an amusing tale of his interview with the Nizam.

hostel he had seen in Patna, to start a similar institution in Jaipur.

He could also think in wider terms Sir Mirza Ismail was responsible for the establishment of the Rajputana University when Rajputana still consisted of a large number of different States

Here is an achievement for which the present administration ought to be thankful to him

He was also responsible for the introduction of constitutional reforms in Jaipur State.

"Timely satisfaction of reasonable aspirations," he says, 'seemed to me the only course if orderly progress, without a too violent break with past traditions, was to be assured."

On the same subject he explains These measures are examples of that general process of democratisation which was going on in many States without violating tradition or endangering efficiency

It would have been well had this gradual and peaceful progress been allowed to continue

To many people perhaps the pace of progress was too slow Sir Mirza seems to forget that few administrators had the same attitude to this question as himself

HIS PRESUMPTION ABOUT THE COURSE OF EVENTS WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IS TO THAT EXTENT NOT ENTIRELY JUSTIFIED

The most interesting chapters in the book from one point of view are Shaping India's Constitutional Future the two chapters on Hyderabad and Thoughts on Partition

In these he deals with events and developments which have a far greater significance to the general reader in India.

★

The narrative and description are punctuated with anecdotes The description of Mr Jinnah's interview with the Nizam will be found highly amusing

Autobiographical material of different types is gradually becoming available in this country

Those who played some part in the India which was not yet free are slowly publishing their recollections of and thoughts on the events which they helped in some measure to shape

This is valuable material and much more interesting than the dry-as-dust histories which will be written of the same period

Sir Mirza Ismail's book is a valuable addition to this literature. — H E

MY PUBLIC LIFE, by Sir Mirza Ismail George Allen and Unwin Limited, London February 1954. Pages 186 Price 18 shillings.

Bombay Chronicle
March 31, 1954

KHASA SUBBA RAU
EDITOR: SWATANTRA
Phone 8177

2, BRODIES ROAD,
MYLAPORE, MADRAS-4.

April 22, '54

Dear Sir Mirza Ismail,

Thank you for your kind letter. I am quite happy to learn that you are pleased with my review of your book. After I took it up to read, I did not put it down until I had finished it – it was so absorbing in its interest, and the manner and the matter charmed one. It was very artistic in that it put the strongest convictions in language of great tolerance and a quite captivating moderation.

I was very much moved by the nice words you wrote of Swatantra. I hope some day you will honour the journal with an article by you.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
K. Subba Rau

Sir Mirza Ismail,
Bangalore.

KHASA SUBBA RAU,
Editor: Swatantra.

2, Brodies Road,
Mylapore, Madras - 4.

April 22, '54.

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With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) K. SUBBA RAU

Sir Mirza Ismail,
Bangalore.

COPY

New Books

MY PUBLIC LIFE
Recollections and Reflections of
SIR MIRZA ISMAIL
George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London
18s net

MY *PUBLIC LIFE* is the story of Sir Mirza Ismail's career, his autobiography It falls into three parts The first covers the period of his youth and early manhood until he rose to the position of Dewan in Mysore State The second relates to his stay in Jaipur The third is devoted to a narration of his sensational association with the Nizam

Sir Mirza's grandfather arrived in Bangalore from Shiraz in Persia when he was barely sixteen He brought horses from Arabia and established himself as an importer and supplier of horses to the Maharaja's stables He was quite illiterate but he made a great success of his life and won a high reputation among all classes of people in Mysore Mirza Ismail was selected for admission to the Maharaja's special class of nine boys and while there a deep friendship grew up between him and the young Maharaja On completion of his education he was appointed to the Mysore Civil Service and the Maharaja insisted on his being placed on his own staff There he rose to be the Maharaja's Private Secretary, the first Indian to hold that position Three years after he became Private Secretary the Dewanship fell vacant and the Maharaja appointed him to it at the age of forty-two He continued as Dewan for 15 years

During his fifteen years' administration of the State, he started some twenty-five different industries and set before himself the ideal of a truly socialist State He had a passion for urban and rural beautification, and distinguished himself as a builder of parks and gardens and beautiful buildings He loved to do good to people, entertain them with pageantry and illuminations, and he took pleasure in inviting distinguished

Sir Mirza Ismail

leaders from outside to visit the State and see for themselves what the administration was trying to do Motilal Nehru visited Mysore on some festive occasion and he was so thrilled with the illumination and the general appearance of the city that he told the Dewan "he would not be happy until he brought his family and showed them Mysore"—a wish which was unfortunately not fulfilled in his life-time

Sir Mirza came into conflict with Lord Willingdon on account of his admiration for Mahatma Gandhi, but unpleasant consequences were warded off with nice diplomatic skill Lord Willingdon, then Viceroy, visited Mysore in 1933 Lady Willingdon, while being driven to the guest house

told the Dewan that His Excellency was very annoyed with him and was going to give him a dressing down. What followed is described thus by Sir Mirza:

"I was sent for the next day. The Viceroy, in characteristically genial manner, said to me: "Look here, Mirza, what have you been doing?" Every Governor, he said, had written to him objecting to the views expressed by me in a recent address to the Mysore Representative Assembly. I was surprised, and replied that my motive was so obviously good that I could not understand anybody objecting to what I had said . . . He listened to me patiently and merely said, "Don't do it again, my dear fellow."

This is the offending passage in the Dewan's speech before the Representative Assembly which he was admonished by Lord Willingdon not to repeat:

"I am not one of those who wish Mahatma Gandhi to retire from politics. There never was a time when India so badly needed the guidance of a genuine leader, and in him we have one who holds a unique position in the country and is not only a convinced lover of peace and an ardent patriot, but also a far-reaching, sagacious statesman. I feel that he is qualified far better than anyone else to reconcile the conflicting elements in the country and to induce them all to march together a further stage along the road that leads to self-government. He also has it in his power, as no one else has, to establish the happiest relations between India and Great Britain."

At Mysore, Lord Willingdon was told that the Maharaja who had been entertaining him, was also going to entertain Mahatma Gandhi as a guest. This upset Lord Willingdon so much that he wrote a long letter to the Maharaja in his own hand requesting him not to entertain the Mahatma as a State guest. The Maharaja replied that Gandhi's hosts were the public of Bangalore, at whose pressing invitation he was coming, and all that the Government had done was to place their guest house at the disposal of the Bangalore leaders for the Mahatma's use, a courtesy invariably shown to distinguished visitors. The threatened **crisis was somehow averted, but the atmosphere of welcome for the Mahatma that prevailed in Mysore seems to have had a harrying effect on Lord Willingdon. For after leaving Mysore he wrote to Sir Mirza:**

"Very grateful thanks for all you did for us during our visit . . . You're a wonder! Go on and all luck go with you. If you will only give up the idea of Gandhi as a leader of political thought in this country, for, believe me, he is temperamentally a bad politician, you will, I know do much to further the interests of India within the British Empire."

Sir Mirza's respectful attitude to Mahatma Gandhi brought him continually into clash with Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah was unremitting in his efforts to persuade Sir Mirza to join the Muslim League, but Sir Mirza was obdurate in his refusal, and on one occasion told Mr. Jinnah categorially: "My lifelong association with a Hindu Maharaja and my long service in a Hindu State where I have received the most loyal co-operation from my Hindu fellow-citizens throughout my official career, prevent me from identifying myself with a political organisation which is avowedly anti-Hindu in its aims and objects" Mr. Jinnah angrily retorted: "I must most emphatically controvert your statement characterising the Muslim League as 'a political organisation which is avowedly anti-Hindu in its aims and objects.' That has grieved me coming from a man of your position and understanding and let me emphasise that it is not true."

Sir Mirza is an apostle of the unity of India, and he still hopes that India and Pakistan will some day unite in all but name, and his political creed was ever the antithesis of that of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. So when, after a four years' term as Dewan at Jaipur subsequent to a fifteen years' tenure at Mysore, the offer of the Prime Ministership of Hyderabad was made to Sir Mirza Ismail and Mr. Jinnah heard of it, he telegraphed to the Nizam asking him to cancel the offer, threatening him with dire consequences:

otherwise. When the Nizam stuck to his guns Mr Jinnah rushed to Hyderabad, determined to prevent Sir Mirza's appointment. A detailed account of what followed was later given to Sir Mirza by Nawab Hosh Yar Jung who was present at the interview between Mr Jinnah and the Nizam.

He (Nawab Hosh Yar Jung) told me that Jinnah entered the room smoking a cigar, and seated himself in the chair in front of the Nizam with his legs outstretched. Immediately there was an explosion H. E H. exclaimed, "Do you know who I am? Is this the way you behave towards the Nizam of Hyderabad?" The attack was so sudden and unexpected that the visitor was completely flabbergasted: he withdrew his legs, threw away the offending cigar and apologised But the storm having burst, apology did not ease the situation. The Nizam swamped him with angry questions. "What do you want? What do you want to tell me?" and so on and so forth Jinnah sought to say something about the appointment, but before he could utter a few words, the Nizam cried, "I do not want any outside interference in my affairs. I can take care of the interests of my own people I do not wish to discuss the matter with you"

I was told that "the whole Palace resounded with his angry voice, so much so that the oldest retainers said that they had never seen the Nizam in such a temper before" In between the explosions Jinnah somehow managed to play his last card by entering the warning that the Muslim League would never extend any support to Hyderabad That only made matters worse "What do I care? You were never helpful. I am not going to ask for your help." Jinnah then said something about constitutional reforms The Nizam cut him short: "I am a busy person, Mr Jinnah, I cannot go into details with you If you wish to discuss the reforms, please go and see the minister in charge Anything more? No? Then good-bye"

Sir Mirza Ismail went to Hyderabad full of hopes and ambitions but his presence was resented by the Razakars who pitted themselves against his policies and succeeded in undermining his hold on the Nizam He left after a few months and that sealed the doom of Hyderabad.

The greatest influence in the life of Sir Mirza Ismail was Maharaja Sri Krishna Wadiyar. Between them there was a close understanding and deep friendship, and Sir Mirza says of his death in 1940, "To me, it was the greatest sorrow I have known in my life." He is sure that the Maharaja's name will be recorded as among the greatest in India's history.

The writing of an autobiography is an extremely delicate task But Sir Mirza Ismail has accomplished it with grace and charm because of his singular lack of vanity despite his crowded life packed with events, sensations and achievements Between his estimate of others and others' estimate of him, is comprised a valuable aid for the comprehension of the country's history in recent times With the administrator's gift of attention to practical details, he combines the politician's flair for propaganda and the statesman's insight into historical trends—and in these pages we find revealed an outstanding character endowed with many excellences, a warm companionable spirit, deep loyalty, unfailing tolerance, an indefatigable hospitality and a sense of art, beauty and dignity adorning everything touched by it.

K S. R

★

Facts About India

About India

See India· Mysore and Coorg

The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India

Rs 3-8 as, Rs 1-8 as, 8 as respectively

THE title is self-explanatory *Facts About India* meant for the foreigner will be found useful for the Indian also inasmuch as a number of essential details which should be common knowledge are all gathered in this book Production of the various industries, the computation of National Income—to mention only two—are among the various

M. Ismail

DURRANT'S PRESS CUTTINGS
29-30, Mount Pleasant, London, W.C.1.
Telephone: CENTRAL 5149 (Two Lines).

Eastern Daily Press
57, London Street, Norwich.

Cutting from issue dated 12 MAR 1954

Studies of Two Revolutions

19th Century Italy and India Today

Pio Nono, by E. E. Y. Hales. (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 25/-).
My Public Life, by Sir Mirza Ismail. (Allen & Unwin, 18/-).

THE sub-title of Mr. Hales's book is "A Study of European politics and religion in the 19th century"—subjects which are illuminated by the study of Pope Pius IX, who was acclaimed in 1846 as the first Liberal Pope, and execrated only a couple of years later as the head of ecclesiastical tyranny and the archetype of political reaction.

The reason, as Mr. Hales explains it, for this revulsion of opinion was that the Liberals misconstrued him, and he them. Pio Nono was very nearly drawn at the heels of the Italian revolutionaries into a nationalist war for the unification of Italy. This was for him an unexpected and horrifying consequence of the benevolent interest he had shown in constitutional and educational reforms in the Papal States; in railways and in agricultural institutions. He was being asked to swallow the optimistic belief in the invariable beneficence of progress and the unquestionable rightness of the will of the people — Mazzini's religion of the nation and humanity. And the supra-national authority of the Pope was to be bent to the purposes of Italian nationalism.

He recoiled just in time. By so doing he lost the Papal States and the last vestiges of the temporal authority of the Popes. He bitterly disappointed the Liberals, for whom the Italian *risorgimento* was the crux of the struggle for a new ideal of human liberty, whose prophets and warriors were Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour. His subsequent restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England and Holland revived the cry of "No Popery." His Syllabus of Errors, with its denial of the proposition that "The Roman Pontiff can and should reconcile and harmonise himself with progress, Liberalism and with recent civilisation," sounded like a reassertion of ecclesiastical despotism, which was confirmed by the proclamation in 1870 of the dogma of Papal infallibility.

The English liberal tradition has no good word to say of Pio Nono. Mr. Hales thinks there is a great deal to be said now that we can see him in a longer perspective, in which the successors of Garibaldi's Redshirts are Mussolini's Blackshirts, nationalism develops into the megalomania of dominant races, and the sovereign will of the people is advanced as the sanction for the authoritarian state. It is Mr. Hales's case that at the sacrifice of popularity and temporal power, Pius IX re-established the spiritual authority of the Pope; that he prepared for the vindication of "natural law" which transcends the law of states; and that in refusing to reconcile the papacy with the human definition of progress he was asserting that civilisation must reconcile itself with God. This is a highly interesting apology, which in fact argues that the reactionary of 1854 is the revolutionary of 1954.

Sir Mirza Ismail, Muslim in religion and Persian by descent, is the remarkable Dewan or Prime Minister who between 1926 and 1941 made the predominantly Hindu state of Mysore, in South India, become known as "the model state." It was politically the most progressive and industrially the most advanced of all the Indian princedoms.

From 1941 to 1946 he was engaged, as Dewan of Jaipur, in constitutional and educational reforms in another Hindu state. And then, until 1947, he served the great state of Hyderabad, with a predominantly Hindu population under a Muslim prince. On the partition of India, there was a danger of civil war. Sir Mirza was forced to resign, but it was partly due to his diplomatic efforts that in 1948 the accession of Hyderabad to the Indian Union was accomplished almost without bloodshed.

Sir Mirza was an influential member of the Round Table Conference of 1934, which prepared the way for Indian independence. He has travelled widely since 1948 in Indonesia and the Middle East in the service of the United Nations. He is singularly well equipped, both by experience and temperament, to write objectively of the last phase of the British and princely power in India, and to reflect upon the new era in Southern Asia.

Unfortunately he has retained somewhat to excess as an author the discretion of the civil servant and diplomatist. *My Public Life*, although it could hardly fail to be interesting, is not so penetrating as one had hoped it would be. He does, however, reiterate his belief that the transition of India to independence was unduly rushed, and even another ten months for preparation would have made a great improvement. The division of India was a mistake, weakening both the Indian Union and Pakistan. Yet Sir Mirza believes they can only be reconciled now by a further partition in Kashmir, after which he hopes India and Pakistan may gradually become linked together in finance, defence, industry and commerce, until perhaps at last they become one State again in all but name.

He does not believe the sub-continent can fulfil its destiny in any other fashion. Furthermore, he deeply regrets that the princedoms were not retained as constitutional states in an Indian Federation—personal and paternal rule is, by tradition and habit, best suited to the Indian mind; you cannot, without impoverishing that mind, take away its instinct of loyalty to a person or institution, and far better a near and visible person, intimately connected with local affairs, than a distant one, unknown and unapproachable. That observation is profoundly true—and not of India alone.

E. F.

Thought
Delhi
April 17, 1954

This and That

By Arthur Moore

For long—ever since his Mysore days—I have had such an admiration for Sir Mirza Ismail that I hope his book *My Public Life* will be widely read. I have no doubt that in India it will have many readers, but though Allen and Unwin have published it I have not the same certainty about England. True, the U.K. contains plenty of former Indian Civil Servants, Army officers and others, who knew and admired Sir Mirza; but they do not add up to a large enough total to make an easily profitable publishing venture. And one has to recognize that the general British public at present shows little interest in the British-Indian period of Indian history. Something is happening comparable to the attitude towards Ireland in the twenties. Then the English wanted to forget about Ireland, not to read about her. Indian independence came about more gracefully than Irish; with goodwill, and without the brutalities of Sinn Feiners on the one side and the Black and Tan on the other, but there is the same loss of interest in former days. There is no loss of interest in India. There is in fact far more interest in India now than ever before; but it is interest in the new India, sympathetic study of its economic and political devlopment plans. Ireland and the Irish are also popular. But as yet few seem to wish to hear about life in British India or in the Ireland of late Vactorian and Edwardian days. *The Times*, however, has given Sir Mirza's book a highly favourable and well-informed review.

I hope he will give us another book, for he has exceptional gifts for estimating trends and painting today's Indian scene. But it will be better still if his public life returns. I have heard of none since his difficult task in Hyderabad. I wonder why not. In a diplomatic or gubernatorial post he could serve India well.

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

MY PUBLIC LIFE By Sir Mirza Ismail, Illustrated (George Allen and Unwin Ltd, Museum St, London. 18sh)

Sir Mirza Ismail is an able administrator and wise statesman He rose from an Assistant Secretary s place in the Mysore Civil Service to be the Dewan of that State for a period of fifteen years marked by notable progress in several fields He also became the Dewan of Jaipur (Rajasthan) and the Prime Minister of Hyderabad (Deccan) He played a prominent part in the discussions at the Round Table Conference in London that led to the framing of the Government of India Act of 1935 It is a matter for regret that he and men like him have no place in the governance of our country after the attainment of Independence They may not agree to political changes and reform overnight but a conservative outlook and cautious judgment are necessary in our leaders occupying places of power

The memoirs of the public life of a veteran like Sir Mirza are bound to be interesting The small book of 176 pages before us does not belie our expectations The intimate friendship that subsisted between him and Maharaja Krishnaraja Wadiyar of Mysore—they were classmates at school—enabled Sir Mirza to initiate and implement several progressive measures of reform calculated to improve the finances and general prosperity of the State Sir Mirza was friendly with the British administration on the one hand and the Princely order on the other and so he was able with his tact and understanding to smoothen many a crisis It was during his Dewanship that there was substantial reduction in the annual subsidy imposed on the State on its transfer to the Hindu dynasty Following the policy of spreading the establishment of industries all over the State instead of concentrating them in one or two prominent centres Sir Mirza was responsible for the starting of about 25 different industries almost all of which have in the course of time augmented the resources of the State For a shorter period of about 4 years the State of Jaipur also had the benefit of Sir Mirza s hand at the helm of affairs The Maharaja gave him a free hand and stood by him right through One of his notable contributions to the welfare of the State was in the field of education by the starting of the University of Jaipur

Sir Mirza was not equally fortunate as the administrative head in Hyderabad The Nizam invited him to accept the Premiership and showed a lot of goodwill in the beginning but after some months during the crucial days of political crisis in India when the British made up their minds to confer Independence on India the Nizam began to nourish and nurture hopes of independence for his State which in the nature of things were bound to prove a futile dream Some very foolish Muslims called the Itt-had-ul-Musalameen egged on the Nizam in his fantastic aspirations and he succumbed to their baneful influence He ignored and set at nought the sober counsel of Sir Mirza Truculence reared its ugly head and Muslim fire-eaters indulged in most provocative bravado entirely thoughtless of the fact that the very geographical situation of the State made it impossible for its holding aloof from the Indian Union as a separate unit When the British control was withdrawn Sir Mirza found it impossible to stay in Hyderabad as Prime Minister and he promptly resigned It is unnecessary to describe the latter events which culminated in the end of the Hyderabad dynasty in accordance with the prediction of a Muhammadan fakir long long ago

There are suggestive observations of the author in the course of the book on many of the problems which beset us even to-day and demand a satisfactory solution, it may be useful to refer to a few of them Speaking of the independence of the judiciary Sir Mirza says , "A country whose judiciary is weak or otherwise unsatisfactory and does not enjoy the full confidence of the public cannot hope to be a progressive or happy country"

He is not at all happy over the fate that has befallen the Princely States He observes 'To say that India is now a more united a more homogeneous and a more powerful country than it was in the British days before the disappearance of the princely States is a claim which certainly errs on the side of exaggeration' Instead of preserving stable elements and maintaining stabilising influences a rule of thumb indiscriminately applied to all Princes and States resulting in their wholesale elimination has proved deleterious to the good Government of India rather than otherwise The implications of democratic rule in the States and how deterioration in standards of administrative efficiency has fast set in are discussed at length in chapter XI of the book. The atmosphere of Universities in India is being poisoned by politics and the adoption of the democratic principle of election in the choice of Vice-Chancellors The conversion of fine palaces into drab offices has given a blow to art and architecture The neglect of parks is also criminal The nationalisation of all major industries is certain to hamper industrial progress though a certain amount of State socialism is necessary

Sir Mirza s estimate of the value of Sanskrit education is noteworthy Sanskrit is called a 'dead' language but in another and more real sense it is very much alive to day Is it not still sustaining and enriching many a living Indian language from its vast storehouse of literature? And even the illiterate villagers greatly enjoy the readings from the ancient Sanskrit books One cannot contemplate with equanimity though happily such an eventuality is improbable the divorce of Sanskrit from the everyday life of the masses as with Latin and Greek in Europe A light would have gone from the life of the people and the distinctive features of Hindu civilisation and culture which have won for it an honoured place in world thought would soon be effaced from the life of the community to the great disadvantage of India and the world The truth of his remark that religion is no barrier to real friendship is amply exemplified in his own case as he appears to have got more friends among Hindus and Europeans than among his own Muslim brethren Temple entry for Harijans by legislation does not commend itself to him as there is an element of compulsion it should come as a result of the realisation on the part of the caste Hindus that it is wrong if not a sin to keep the Harijans out European missionaries have done splendid work in the field of education and medicine though their proselytizing activities may not meet with favour The author was strongly opposed to the division of India and his refusal to join the Muslim League led to a permanent breach of friendship between him and Jinnah The increasing influence of the fanatical element on the masses augurs ill for Pakistan It is never safe or wise to project religion into politics and allow politics to masquerade in the guise of religion The importance of the English language for India cannot be overemphasised

His solution of the Kashmir problem is found at page 131 of the book A decision by plebiscite leading to the feeling that the party against whom the vote goes has lost everything will leave the present bitterness behind Pakistan should retain their portion of Kashmir which it now holds with the addition of Poonch and India should have Jammu and Ladakh The valley proper which is the real bone of contention between the two countries should go to neither ' It might be formed subject to minor adjustment of boundaries into a compact autonomous State self governing in its internal affairs but having no responsibility for foreign policy or defence as it would have no direct relations with any foreign power outside the sub continent The problem of reorganisation of States is briefly touched upon and the view is expressed that other elements besides language should be taken into account and that a large and influential Commission representative of various States and interests should be constituted to tackling so important a subject A secular State need not be a religionless State A nation should be encouraged in religious faith and practice It should have some spiritual moorings to keep it steady in times of trial It is a mistake to encourage people to live in an atmosphere of agnosticism or indifference to those spiritual values of life which are the sheet anchor of a nation, no less than of an individual'

Brief sketches of persons and personalities and acute analysis of their qualities and character abound in the book

The book is a valuable contribution to political thought and movements in India during the last five decades It is written in simple and charming style and is not unduly burdened with quotations from speeches or letters Many autobiographies exhibit a tendency to become prolix and over sized but the work under notice is free from this blemish it may be said to err on the side of brevity

N Chandrasekhara Aiyar.

The Hindu
Ap. 18, 1954

The Mail
Editorial Dept
TEL 85660
85661
P O Box No 1

Mail Buildings
Mount Road
Madras

DATE April 23 19 54

My dear Sir Purnya,

Thanks for letting me see the enclosed, the writer seems to be one of the people who think that authors and publishers live on air, and that books are published at no cost whatever.

There is one redeeming feature about the letter, the writer has a lively sense of gratitude for favours received- one does not meet that often nowadays.

Moreover, he shows that he appreciates the good work you have done -- such appreciation is not often shown nowadays. But if he is sincere he will buy your book, not ask for it as a gift. His letter would have come more appropriately after he had read it, and could speak with sincerity of its high worth.

Do I sound cynical? That is how one seems to get, even against one's will, when one encounters the axe-grinders, the cadgers, and the self-servers of our time. Thank God there are still a few of the old school left-- a diminishing number alas. You are one, and that is why I value your friendship, and liked the candour of your book.

Kindest regards - I hope you keep hale & hearty

Yours sincerely
A. V. Hayle

The Mail

CALENDAR—APRIL

		Sun A.M.	Sun P.M.	Moon P.M.	Moon A.M.
Sun.	11th	5 59	6 21	1 0	1 12
Mon.	12th	5 59	6 21	1 61	1 56
Tue.	13th	5 58	6 21	2 39	2 35
Wed.	14th	5 57	6 21	3 26	3 13
Thur.	15th	5 57	6 21	4 12	3 49
Fri.	16th	5 57	6 21	4 57	4 24
Sat.	17th	5 56	6 22	5 43	5 0

MADRAS TEMPERATURE
Saturday

	(M)	(N)
Maximum	95 9	92.3
Minimum	77.1	77 0
Humidity	79%	70%

A SOUTH INDIAN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

ONCE in a while there appears on an editor's desk a book that commands immediate attention by reason of its relation to current events. Such a book is SIR MIRZA ISMAIL'S autobiography. Few men have a wider knowledge of India, or a record of more sincere work for the progress of the country based on realism. Most of SIR MIRZA'S public life was spent in the service of Mysore State. He was almost the last, but not the least, of a succession of wise and farsighted Dewans who helped to raise Mysore to the position of "the Model State" of all India Under his progressive administration all the elements of a Welfare State were fostered, though the term had not yet come into current political use. Nor was the development of Mysore into a Welfare State a political stunt, or part of a Party programme; it was a sincere effort to assist the people of the State to a higher standard of living and comfort based on a progressive policy of industrialisation intended to exploit its resources for the common good.

Something of SIR MIRZA'S contribution to this evolution of the State is indicated in this book, but by no means all Yet one has only to go round and about in Mysore, to talk to its villagers, especially the older among them, to learn how much this one man did to increase the well-being, and the happiness of the common people. He taught them to respect themselves, and by their conduct to exact respect from others. His methods were simple, based on an intimate knowledge of the character of those whom he delighted to serve. And they succeeded. We hear much of Community Projects these days, but the methods employed therein were used by SIR MIRZA ISMAIL in Mysore several decades ago, and with marked success because he personally interested himself in the result. No experience was more enlightening, more encouraging, than to go with him on one of his tours through the countryside, to note how readily the villagers told him of their wants, and how far, in their own villages, they had carried out his suggestions; to mark how he instructed village officers and others to see that this work was done, and that amenity provided. There was no great display, such as accompanies the introduction of community projects, no publicity, but the work was done, and done well. The pride of the people in their village was stimulated, and happiness increased

Little enough of all this is mentioned in political and public circles in Mysore today, and in this book SIR MIRZA is unduly reticent. He dwells more on the changes that have abolished so much that was valuable in pre-Independence India, and he makes one remark that admits of no challenge: "The village well is nearer and more important to the ryot than constitutional reforms or federation, or paramountcy. Here is another that must be heeded if India is to remain united. "By killing all local loyalty and initiative you do not strengthen but weaken a country. To say that India is now a more united, a more homogeneous, and a more powerful country than it was .....before the disappearance of the princely States is a claim which certainly errs on the side of exaggeration"

SIR MIRZA is nothing if not outspoken. "I have in my life practised very few economies of truth in the expression of my opinion," and it is because the opinions expressed in his book bear so patently the stamp of sincerity and courage that it is well worth reading. Its author has never feared to say what he felt needed saying; if it was unpopular, and disliked in high places where expediency dominated policy so much the worse for those who dwelt in such places—SIR MIRZA'S conscience was clear. He stood firm on principles he held to be fundamental.

From Mysore to Jaipur, from Jaipur to Hyderabad, from Hyderabad to Indonesia SIR MIRZA ISMAIL went wherever he thought he could labour for the advantage of the people, and the progress of the State or country whence the call came. And everywhere he left his mark. His counsel was valued by princes as well as villagers Only the unscrupulous resented his activities. He laboured for what he thought was right, and would contribute to the well-being of the masses; they were ever in his mind. He made enemies, inevitably, but none among the common people. The axe-grinders resented his methods; sought to misrepresent his purposes, to undo his work. In Hyderabad they succeeded in thwarting him, and the plight of Hyderabad today is proof of how well they succeeded. If, as is expected, that State is ultimately liquidated, being divided into its constituent linguistic parts, it will largely be because SIR MIRZA ISMAIL'S counsel was disregard by its ruler, and small-minded men in office frustrated his efforts to save the State from folly.

The full story is told in this book, as is that of Indonesia, for which we have no space. It is full of striking passages. The temptation to quote at length is almost irresistible. Its style is lucid; it is easy to read. There are no heavy, laboured passages; and the quotations from letters and records are apt. It is one man's story, but the man is an exceptional character, whose public life has won tributes from the great in many lands; a sound judge of character, and of men. We cannot resist one last quotation: "It is no exaggeration to say that, broadly speaking, Governments in the East do not enjoy the confidence and respect of the public they serve." Why? The answer is also given: "Our countries so easily become the paradise of the professional politician." All who would purge our public life of evil, and make this country the ideal Welfare State of their dreams should read this book They will find in it guidance, warning, and sound appreciation of men peoples and situations.

***My Public Life By Sir Mirza Ismail. George Allen & Unwin. 18s. net.

INDIAN SERVICE

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL: *My Public Life. Recollections and Reflections.* Allen and Unwin. 18s.

It has been a source of surprise to knowledgeable people that Sir Mirza Ismail, who is incomparably the ablest and most successful administrator whom India has produced during the last generation, should have been virtually laid on the shelf when his country became independent. His work in Mysore became almost legendary for the sheer magnitude of his achievements; it gained him the esteem, and indeed the affection, of the entire State, from the Maharaja down to the humblest villager. He was the valued counsellor of many of the men, whether British or Indian, who shaped the destinies of India during the period before and after the last war. Himself a Shiah of ancient Persian stock, he counts close friends among Sunnis, Hindus and Christians, and no man alive is more free from sectarian bias. Both by long experience and by natural ability Sir Mirza Ismail would qualify for inclusion in any cabinet in the world. Yet the new rulers of India have passed him by except for some almost casual use of his services on a commission or two.

This book goes far to explain the riddle. "I have in my life," he writes, "practised very few economies of truth in the expression of my opinion, and this habit has got me into trouble sometimes, both with the British Government of India and with the present Government in Delhi." It is true that his long and distinguished career has brought him many warm friends and admirers; but his incisive mind and his refusal to subordinate his own high standards to the political fashions of the moment make him impatient of cant and time-servers. Although he has the kindest heart, he can never refrain from exposing muddled thinking; and he has the unforgivable knack of being usually right. Never a good party man because he can see the weakness of the side he believes to be right as clearly as the faults of the side he believes to be mistaken, he has remained politically, in spite of many friends and warm human relationships, in a position of intellectual loneliness and detachment, which has barred him from high office.

Yet there is nothing bitter about this book. The author takes sincere pleasure—which all his readers can share—in the interesting people with whom he has worked with and the interesting things that he has done. Some of his achievements—his work in Jaipur and his very narrow failure to save Hyderabad from extinction—rank as footnotes to the history of his country. Many of those into whose hands this book will come may wish that he had expanded his illuminating comments upon the new India, upon the United Nations and upon the road which Asian countries must follow if they are to prosper in the independence they now enjoy. "I have decided otherwise," he writes, "desiring that my readers should wish for more rather than less." Both sentiment and language are typical of an uncompromising intellectual honesty as rare as it is refreshing.

The Times Literary Supplement
April 2, 1954

Sir Mirza Ismail

DURRANT'S PRESS CUTTINGS
29-30, Mount Pleasant, London, W.C.1
Telephone: CENTRAL 3140 (Two Lines)

Time and Tide
32, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1.

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Office in India

My Public Life. Sir Mirza Ismail *Allen and Unwin* 18*s*

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL was first and foremost an administrator, one who combined the best of Indian and British traditions He was for many years first Minister of Mysore State, regarded throughout India as a model A progressive in such matters as the electrification of villages, the provision of bus stations and the development of industry, he never lost sight of the kind of life that would be lived in the State he was trying to make, public parks fountains and flowering trees for instance, were with him an obsession Perhaps his success as an administrator was due to his ability to cut through red tape he quotes the astonishment of a Chief Justice on receiving an immediate Yes' to expensive administrative proposals I can endorse the Chief Justice's impression What do you want? Sir Mirza would ask me when he was Prime Minister of Hyderabad Dictate your orders I am your secretary

He came to politics with the approach of an experienced administrator, which in India meant a desire to arrange a friendly compromise between opponents Of religion he said 'One pleases the Almighty even more by serving other faiths than one's own' In the politics of India since 1942 he was, then, out of place, he would not identify himself emotionally with a party and extremists of both camps have accordingly said harsh things about him

To most people the most interesting year of his life will be the short period in Hyderabad which ended in the summer of 1947 Perhaps Sir Mirza feels that the advice he tendered in this period must still be treated as confidential certainly he is not specific about these months, but—from his description of the negotiations a year later when he was not in office but made a friendly attempt to put His Exalted Highness the Nizam's case to the Government of India—one may deduce that his advice was to grant a liberal constitution and come quickly to terms with a powerful adversary That this was the best advice he could give no reasonable person can doubt, it was defeated by extremists who encouraged the Nizam to persist in terms absurdly unrealistic.

On the position of the Princes in the India of the last thirty years Sir Mirza is a progressive conservative, convinced that change should be organic and built on the past, convinced that administration needs skill and experience that a paternal and wise autocracy was often a popular form of government and the best for the States as they were All the same, he believes—and I am sure he is right—that from 1919 onwards the States ought to have been pressed much harder than they were to introduce a mildly democratic constitution, and that nothing like enough pressure was put on them to accept federation under the 1935 Act

It is pleasant to accompany Sir Mirza after retirement to Indonesia to Iran, and to Iraq, he is still an administrator, always practical, always interested, always tolerant, advising the Persians to plant the trees of their roadside avenues further apart, commenting on the inexperience of the Indonesian Secretariat and finding far too many police in Baghdad His book is admirably written in simple and lucid English with no hint of un-English idiom It should, however, be added that he does assume some knowledge of the problems he discusses There are only 167 pages he believes in the advice of Sadi 'Say *Enough* to yourself before others say it to you' I for one should have liked more

PHILIP WOODRUFF

The Leader

Sir Mirza's Memoirs

MANY of his friends and admirers are eagerly looking for copies of SIR MIRZA ISMAIL'S book of memoirs entitled **My Public Life** and issued by George Allen and Unwin Ltd Perhaps Sir Mirza has little of 'public life' in the liberal sense of the term for he was mostly an administrator—a great administrator no doubt, and a greater statesman A Persian by descent and a Mysorean otherwise he belongs to the galaxy of India's veteran demons in the line of Raja Sir T Madhava Rao, Sir A Seshadri Iyer and Sir M Visvesvarayya It is the misfortune of the country that he has never been overfond of the Congress though he has

by I. D.

always enjoyed the friendship of individual Congress leaders Perhaps there was no Muslim of his stature who was so much aloof from the League and so firmly opposed to the "two-nation theory" though among the present-day Pakistanis too he has friends even close relatives He wielded the powers of a dictator once but used his opportunities for building a welfare state Beyond Mysore his lot was cast in stormy surroundings and he emerged out of difficult situations unscathed by virtue of his unswerving adherence to higher values The princely scene surveyed in his book was part of a vanished landscape but it is good that he has not allowed his memories to fade Few will turn to his book for literary craftsmanship though he writes with ease and elegance, but many would love to read it as the personal chronicle of a man who enlivened many a scene and did nothing mean At 71 on the uplands of Bangalore where he attends to his own farm, he is happy in the realisation that throwing out ideas at the dinner table for others to profit by, is the highest altruism in politics

Tidying India

My Public Life. By Sir Mirza Ismail. Allen and Unwin. 18s.

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL'S BOOK *My Public Life* is exactly described by its title. It is a measured account of an influential career, deficient in liveliness and unlikely to interest the general reader, but interesting to those who have cared for India. Of Persian origin, Sir Mirza was born in Mysore, was a boyhood friend of its Maharajah, became Prime Minister, and modernised and tidied up the state; I have never been to Mysore, but it is always referred to as 'a model'. Sir Mirza made it one. Then he went to Jaipur: that, too, he tidied up, and there, in passing, I once experienced his courteousness and hospitality: a slim statesmanlike figure; great dignity of diction and manner; an impression of latent power. From Jaipur he went to Hyderabad, to extricate the Nizam from the trouble which had come on him as the result of the British withdrawal. Hyderabad proved to be beyond his tidying powers and he left. Now at the age of seventy-one he lives in retirement in his beloved Mysore. Besides doing administrative work in India, he attended the Round Table Conference in London and helped to make the India Act of 1935, which provided for federation, and which was never applied. Things have not gone quite the way he hoped. Though a Moslem, he has no footing in Pakistan, and though he has helped the modern India to come into being he has not been employed by it. The reasons for this and for the Hyderabad *débâcle* are explained rather contentiously in his book. Briefly, he was in favour of federation, he was in favour of the retention of (tidied up) Native States, of the retention of English as a lingua franca, and of birth control. On all these points he argues convincingly. In particular he regards it unwise of Delhi to impose, in the place of English, a Sanskritised form of Hindi which will be totally unintelligible in the south. He offers advice, on these and other matters, in the spirit of an Elder Statesman, and he quotes at length from the other eminent men, Indian or British, who have agreed with him or who have anyhow been friendly. Not wholly satisfied with his career, but far from dissatisfied, he looks back with a clear conscience upon much work done.

In memoirs of this type the writer is at liberty to record his failures, but he must not reveal himself as disconcerted. Equanimity is essential to the Public Life. Only once does Sir Mirza appear to have been startled, and then he quickly recovered. It was when a young Sikh committed suicide in his office. The Sikh had asked for an interview and 'it was not my habit to refuse to see anyone', so he came in, said he was in love, could not marry without money, and must have a job in the Jaipur Civil Service at once. Sir Mirza explained sympathetically that this could not be, and advised him to try for alternative employment. 'He was an M.A. and had an attractive personality and might well have succeeded'. Instead of which the boy pulled out a revolver. The office table was a broad one, as befits a high-grade official, so Sir Mirza could not stretch across it to wrest the weapon away. The boy fired and fell dead. The girl's photograph was found in his pocket. Sir Mirza comments, 'I am glad to think that I had been patient with him and he was only doing what he had resolved, if unsuccessful, to do', and proceeds to recall the laying of the foundation stone of a bank. The little impact of the Private Life—so ill-advised, so uncompromising, so wasteful—is at an end, and we re-enter the public arena.

Here he defends himself skilfully against charges of masterfulness and of extravagance. Wherever he has gone there have been changes—hygiene, education, amenities—and these things cost money and evoke opposition, yet surely they are worth while. He has destroyed but he has restored—and he has done it within the framework of the old order. Where he has cut down a tree he has always planted a hundred. This may be so, but his cleansing hand certainly fell heavily on Jaipur architecturally. He may have found that city rubble, but he has left it soap, vistas of pink soap unblurred by a single tree. And the road from it to Amber is now likewise studded with soap—chhattris of soap—ivorine brand—so that the spirit knows not where to wash its hands. What he did at Mysore, what he had time to do at Hyderabad, I know not. But Jaipur has had a shave and a hair-cut for all time.

The pleasantest passages are those which refer to people whom one has happened to know. Sir Mirza remembers an old friend of mine, Sir Amin Jung, seated in his library at Hyderabad. I remember him there, too, and I have a large signed photograph of him, his librarian, his sub-librarian, his grandsons, his hookah, and his books. Sir Amin belonged to the past, his work had lain inside Hyderabad, and he dreaded what he saw piling up outside. Sir Mirza, even older, experience, does not despair, while feeling far from easy.

M. FORSTER

SHANKAR'S WEEKLY

BOOKS :

ECCE HOMO

MY PUBLIC LIFE: By Sir Mirza Ismail. George Allen & Unwin, London. 18s.

ELDER Statesmen are born, not made Some people who don't realise this try foolhardy-ly to make themselves elder statesmen and they only achieve Governorships and such like But the born elder statesmen realise quite early in life that they are elder and statesmen. At the most they deign for a period to administer, disdaining politics with kindly contempt or with cautious advice to themselves, "don't look at them, they know not what they are doing" Sir Mirza Ismail is a born elder statesmar In this autobiography (it is strictly public no elder statesman will stoop to talking about his private life chiefly because personalities should not be imported into politics etc) he does not specifically say so, but we suspect that as soon as he was born he knew that he was an elder statesman

The most pronounced quality of an elder statesman is, of course, his invincible sense of self-righteousness The next most important quality is to say "yes" to whoever is the immediate boss —except, of course, when the boss is being kicked out by the boss above him, in which contingency, the elder statesman says "yes" to the boss's boss

Why are elder statesmen full of the sense of self-righteousness? Because they know that they are full of all the virtues that other people are usually deficient in quite a number of virtues and also that the elder statesman himself never does wrong Sir Mirza Ismail never did wrong

Sir Mirza is the grandson of a Persian horse dealer and carpet-merchant who liked Bangalore better than Persia in 1824 Liking Bangalore and Mysore became a family quality and by the time Sir Mirza was born everyone in Mysore liked the family so much—specially the English military gents—that Sir Mirza was educated along with the young Maharaja and therefore naturally became his Private Secretary and Dewan Sir Mirza liked the Maharaja and Mysore for a number of years Then he liked Jaipur and became Prime Minister there Then he liked Hyderabad and became Prime Minister there for ten months Sir Mirza also liked Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru but he did not agree with them He liked Lord Willingdon but also agreed with him

'The Viceroy in his characteristically genial manner said to me "Look here Mirza what have you been doing?" I was surprised and replied that my motive was so obviously good that I could not understand anybody objecting what I had said He listen to me patiently and then said "Don't do it again, my d

March 28, 1954

fellow' I said I would not since I had no desire to offend him anyway"

That is the real secret of elder statesmanship Sir Mirza did not like Jinnah He also did not like Sardar Patel Jinnah went to the Nizam and tried to make him not give the Prime Ministership to Mirza Sardar Patel after the Police Action warned Sir Mirza off Hyderabad

Sir Mirza also did not like the way the wonderful palaces of the Princes in New Delhi became offices "It is pathetic to see the fate that has overtaken these fine palaces They are being used as offices and present a dismal appearance"

Sir Mirza was a success everywhere he went and whatever he did. That is why he had to write this book.

The Sunday Standard
Ap. 4, 1954

A Dewan Remembers

MY PUBLIC LIFE: By Sir Mirza Ismail. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd, Ruskin House, Museum Street, London. Pp. 180 Price 18 Shillings.

Sir Mirza Ismail belongs to the old courtly type of administrators who flourished in the sheltered and hot-house atmosphere of the Princely States until Democracy laid rude hands on these vestiges of the past, stripped them of their pomp and panoply and exposed them to the rough and tumble of modern political life It was a fortunate circumstance that brought together the young Mirza Ismail with the prince who later came to be known as Maharaja Krishnaraja Wadiyar. The recollections of the author are nostalgic [illegible] are full of bias for the old or[illegible] Sir Mirza was associated with [illegible] State of Mysore, long noted [illegible] the progressive views of [illegible] officials and administrators, a popular ruling family and a loyal people The life of the Dewan was, therefore, neither taxing nor did it bring him in conflict with the Opposition, until the sudden upsurge of nationalism, with its more radical theories challenged the mediaeval concept of personal government.

The earlier portion of the book is not a continuous narrative but is made up of many thoughts as they occurred to the author, some of them disjointed Sir Mirza Ismail presumably found it difficult to escape the ever-present memories of the last Maharaja with whom he was closely associated In politics Sir Mirza favoured the old school of Liberals and his mind worked along the familiar lines of progressive reforms but before he left Mysore for new pastures, that policy had become out-dated Sir Mirza thereafter found it difficult to get abreast of the times. It looks as though he was not too certain of himself and there is ample evidence of this in his book which contains a series of "appreciations" from those who, he considered, were qualified to speak on the subject of his administration His work at the Round Table Conferences was naturally influenced by the thought that he was representing the Princely order but within the limitations imposed by this assignment he did remarkably well

In the struggle for power between the Muslim League and the Congress, Sir Mirza tried to mediate, but he found in the impatient Mr Jinnah a force with which he was unable to cope The Congress chiefs too were none too friendly to him His term in Jaipur was too short to leave an impression and in Hyderabad he suffered a serious reverse His moderation was anathema to the extremists And his voice had but feeble effect on the Centre His peregrinations outside India are briefly referred to in this volume but these chapters contain nothing exciting or new—R.

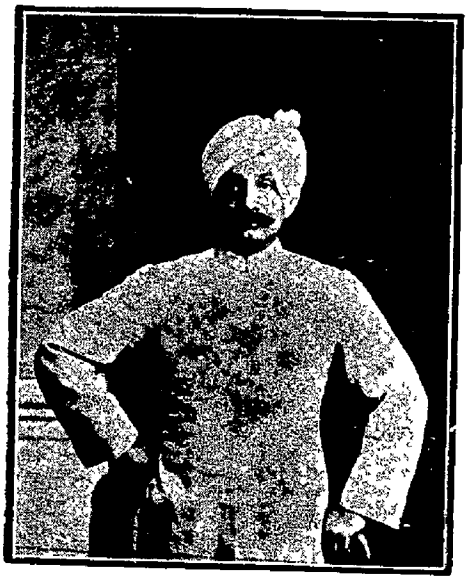
THE NIZAM

It is hardly surprising that in the section of the Indian Press where chapters (or summaries thereof) from MR. MIRZA ISMAIL's autobiography are being serialized, it is the Hyderabad story that is highlighted, though it forms part of the final stages of his "Public Life." It was in Mysore that he rose to be one of the foremost Dewans of his day; it was there that he had the longest spell as an administrator with plenary powers; it was later in Jaipur during a four-year period that he ushered in the beginnings of democracy in what was till then a feudal territory; and it was as the Prime Minister of Jaipur that he pronounced a devastating verdict on the two-nation theory and incurred the displeasure and wrath of the Muslim League. In Hyderabad he was at the helm of affairs only for some months but those were months when he vigorously grappled with destiny and lost the battle to THE NIZAM who has since strangely enough, evoked so much of his sympathy.

Providence has dealt with him harshly, too harshly. What has he not lost?" Asks Mr. Mirza Ismail with a tenderness that must seem baffling to those who knew anything of the treatment meted out to him by the Nizam. He could not have forgotten the Nizam's ways or the day-to-day dramatic developments at King Kothi (Nizam's palace) during the time he was functioning at Shah Manzil (Prime Minister's official residence). Apparently he can forgive much. So out of his pages the Nizam emerges as a ruler who owed his downfall to bad advisers and adverse circumstances and as a man who has been the luckless victim of fate. A more charitable construction cannot be put on one who has, by his unlimited ambition and the tortuous workings of his own mind, lost what Mr Mirza Ismail would still like him to possess or keep.

One wonders - at least I do - if Mr Mirza Ismail has at all realized why the Nizam was at all bent on inviting him to Hyderabad as Prime Minister despite Mr Jinnah's warning and threats and yet why within a short time he dropped him without a tear - or one word of appreciation or sympathy. In August 1946, the Nizam wanted him badly as he banked on his good offices in getting for him the most favourable terms from the Interim Government headed by the Congress. In April 1947, the Nizam has no use for him since by that time the Muslim League had come in for its share in the Cabinet. And never was the Nizam more true to himself than when he made Mir Laik Ali exhibit to the Government of India the most tangled of knots in Hyderabad and simultaneously encouraged Mr Mirza Ismail to unite the knot in Delhi! It is difficult to share Mr Mirza Ismail's belief in the Nizam's innocence or simple-mindedness or his view that he was more sinned against than sinned,

INDIAN STATES' GUARDI



The Maharajah Bahadur of Parlakimedi,
Prime Minister, Government of Orissa.

JUNE
1943

INDIAN STATES' GUARDIAN

The Maharajah Bahadur of Parlakimedi,
Prime Minister, Government of Orissa.

JUNE
1943

Group photograph taken at Junagadh Palace on 4th June 1943 when the jurisdictional and non-jurisdictional Talukdars came to Junagadh to pay their respects to His Highness the Nawab Saheb.

Centre:—His Highness the Nawab Saheb of Junagadh

On his right :—Lt. Colonel G. B. Williams, M. C.

On his left :—The Dewan Saheb, Khan Bahadur Abdul Kadir Md Hussain with the jurisdictional Darbar Sahebs seated in the front row on either side and the non-jurisdictional Darbar Sahebs standing in the 2nd row.

INDIAN STATES' : : : : : : : GUARDIAN

NOTICE

The Managing Editor cordially invites articles on problems of interest to Indian States, state news, photos and sketches of Indian Princes, Dewans and high states' officials for publication. The Editor will be obliged to the contributors if they will enclose postage stamps when submitting articles, to ensure their return in case of their being found unsuitable for publication. We do not accept responsibility for the views expressed in any articles, signed or unsigned, which appear in these pages except for those which appear in the editorial section.

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CONTENTS.

	Pages
1. Editorials ...	2
2. The Indian States in Transition ...	5
3. Solarium at Jamnagar ...	11
4. Tunisia Day celebrations in Baroda ...	13
5. Sir Mirza's first year of administration in Jaipur ... (*By Pt. A. P. Sharma*)	15
6. Late Maharajah Sir Madhav Rao Scindia ... (*By A. Chand*)	18
7. Trained Workers for Mysore villages ...	19
8. Realignment of Petty Principalities ... (*By Historicus*)	20
9. Reforms in Indian States ... (*By S. P. Sharma*)	22
10. Attachment of Talukas to Junagadh ...	25
11. Princely riches that Bewilder the World ... (*By A. P. Saksena*)	27
12. Keonjhar State ...	29
13. Palitana State ...	31
14. Hon'ble Maharajah of Parlakimedi ... (*A Pen Sketch*)	33

Photographs

1. H. H. Maharajah of Parlakimedi.
2. Tunisia Day in Baroda.
3. Group photograph taken at Junagadh Palace when the Jurisdictional and non-jurisdictional Talukdars came to Junagadh to pay their respects to H. H. Nawab of Junagadh.

Indian States' Guardian

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EDITORIALS

The Late Shaikh Saheb of Mangrol

IT IS OUR PAINFUL DUTY TO record here the death at the age of 48 of Shaikh Abdul Khaliq, Ruler of Mangrol. By his death, Kathiawar has lost a noble personality. He was an administrator of great repute and raised Mangrol to the present position which it occupies today. The late Shaikh Saheb received his education at the Rajkumar College, Rajkot and took the diploma topping the list of all the successful boys in all the Chiefs' Colleges in India for that year at the comparatively early age of 18. In 1914 he was invited by Lord Hardinge to join the Imperial Cadet Corps at Dehra Dun where he had an equally brilliant career. Even when his father was alive, the late Shaikh Saheb was taking great interest in the administration of Mangrol. In 1915 he was entrusted with the portfolios of Police and Sibandhi and subsequently he had complete charge of the administration given to him and his father had such complete confidence in his son that he ceased to deal even with even important administrative affairs. From that period onwards he became the virtual ruler of Mangrol. His administration was notable for many appreciable and urgent socio-economic reforms of a bold, unique and extraordinary nature. Public servants in the lower grades were not allowed to incur private debts on marriage on pain of dismissal. He sanctioned interest-free loans to public servants in the lower grade for redemption of their debts and buying buildings or repairing their dwellings. On important occasions in their family such as marriage, birth, death, sickness etc., public servants of the above class were advanced interest free, from the saving or other funds from the State suitable sums on easy repayment to avoid the money-lenders. In cases of serious sickness free monetary assistance was given by him in deserving cases. At his instance a legislation was passed preventing low-paid servants from indulging in pan, bidi and tea drinking in the bazaars which made a serious gap in their poor resources specially in hard times, to the detriment of themselves and the embarassment of their families. This system is now working to the advantage of the low-paid servants. He took a keen interest in the Waqf Trust of his father which maintains nearly a hundred boys and many girls of the Muslim backward class at a hostel, feeding, clothing and educat-

ing them and fitting them for any career for which they are capable in Mangrol or outside. He extended medical facilities to his subjects. A few months ago a modern operation theatre built and equipped at a considerable cost was opened in Mangrol by the Resident for the W. I. States. On the occasion of the opening ceremony, the Resident paid a fitting tribute to the late Shaikh Saheb for his various qualities of head and heart thus:—"A Ruler who has the welfare of his people at heart, as the Shaikh Saheb undoubtedly has, cannot find any better way of promoting that welfare than the expansion of medical and surgical facilities. This new operation theatre is another instance of his earnest desire to effect improvements in the various departments." He extended irrigation facilities to the ryots and many tanks were constructed during his regime. A fine club and a Secretariat and a six new Guest Houses were erected. Improved facilities for education, a ginning factory, ice factory etc. these formed special features of his administration. While offering our condolence to the members of the bereaved family, we are sure that K. S. Nasiruddin who succeeds him will follow his father's footsteps. The new Shaikh Saheb is a man of high culture and has extensively travelled in America and England. He, like his revered father, is a great enthusiast in cricket and has played in first class cricket in India. Mangrol public will always cherish the memory of the late Shaik Saheb for his numerous beneficial reforms. We fervently hope and trust that the people will cooperate with the new Ruler in his administration of Mangrol.

Baroda Dewan's Patriotic Move

SIR V.T. KRISHNAMACHARI, DEWAN of Baroda is a great friend of the poor and as Dewan of Baroda he has enacted many measures to relieve the distres sof the poor. Highly moved by the condition of the poverty-stricken people of the State he organised a fund for assisting the poor people all over the State in their distress caused by high prices of food-grains and cloth and it is gratifying to observe that his appeal has evoked a ready response from the pubic and prominent gentlemen including mill-owners and merchants. The Dewan Saheb's move is highly praiseworthy and his example can best be emulated by other States. The present war has brought untold misery on the poor and it behoves the Baroda public to contribute more and more to the fund and thus alleviate their misery and distress It may be pertinent to point out that H. H. the Maharajah of Baroda donated in all a sum of Rs, 3,12,500 for lowering the price of standard cloth for people in the State and that cheap grain shops and food committees have been set up for helping the poor in solving their food problem. We congratulate the Maharajah and the Dewan on their timely assistance to the poor.

Petition Boxes in Indore Mofussil

REALISING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE necessity of providing greater facilities to the people of the State to approach local officials with their wants and grievances, the Prime Minister of Indore, Rajah Gyan Nath has ordered that every officer should have a petition box fixed in a conspicuous place outside his office, and that the officer has to see that the members of the

public have free access to this box without any let or hindrance. The officer will keep the key of the box with himself and at the close of the official duty of the State he will open the box himself, call the petititioners and give patient hearing to their grievances and complaints in order to take prompt and remedial measures. Subordinate officials found preventing petitioners from putting their petitions into the box are threatened with severe punishment. This system was in existence in those good old days and achieved beneficial results in the interests of the public. By this system matters of considerable importance affecting the public can be expedited, which in the usual course of official routine business would entail much delay. Another unique advantage of this system is that wrong-doing subordinates can be easily detected by high officials.

H. E. H. the Nizam's Birthday

THE 57TH BIRTHDAY OF H. E. H. the Nizam was celebrated recently without pomp and show. During his thirty-two years of his rule, the State was witnessed numerous beneficial measures in the interest of the people. His chief concern is to improve the lot of his subjects. Their welfare is his deepest anxiety and his thoughts are always on his subjects. He always follows the rule that example is better than precept and consequently he has able to inspire his officers and noblemen with the same ideals of economy and the same ideals of devotion to duty which he rigidly practises without any thought of self. His love of virtue and piety are land-marks of his character. His prosperous and enlightened rule has illumined every dark street in the state and it has also illumined the hearts of Hyderabad public. We felicitate His Exalted Highness on his 57th birthday and pray for his long life, sound health and prosperity so that Hyderabad may long continue to enjoy his wise administration.

H. H. the Maharajah of Gwalior

THE PEOPLE OF GWALIOR CELEBRATED on a grand scale the birthday of their Maharajah and prayers were offered in all places of religious worships for his long and prosperous rule. Following the footsteps of his revered father, His Highness is conducting the administration of Gwalior on sound and efficient lines. He is in close touch with each and every department of the State. A perfect gentleman he is to the core and in the face of most difficult situations he does not lose sight of his princely dignity and honour. His Highness fully enjoys the trust of all sections of his subjects and his high principles, catholic sympathy and amiable nature win for him the love and admiration of the poor and the rich alike. No ruler in India is so deeply attached to his people as His Highness the Maharajah of Gwalior. May he live long to see his state more and more prosperous and flourishing!

H. H. Maharajah of Parlakimedi

WE PUBLISH ELSEWHERE AN INTERESTING character study of H.H. Maharajah of Parlakimedi, Prime Minister of Orissa and a perusal of the article will give our readers an idea of his powerful personality. His services to Orissa are immense and he has ably proved that parties other than the Congress can run the administration of a Province on liberal and progressive lines.

The Indian States in Transition

(By Mr. T. V. MAHALINGAM, M. A.)

IF one travels from Cape Comorin, India's land's end, to the Pamirs in the snowy peaks of the Himalayas, a distance of about two thousand miles across which present different geographical features, one may pass almost entirely through the territory of the princes without traversing much of British Indian territory. Likewise the traveller from Chitral and the Pamirs on the western side to Calcutta need not touch much of the British Indian soil. Thus if one starts from Travancore, goes along the west coast to the Himalayas and returns by the east coast he may pass through a good number of the Indian States, a large portion of Indian India, the land of ancient tradition, the country of Indian chivalry and institutions. Interwoven with British India are the Indian States represented by yellow patches in the pink map of British India. In most cases the boundaries between the two Indias are not natural, geographical or physical, and one may cross the boundary of one India and pass on to the fact that he is in a different political atmosphere.

The conglomeration of the Indian States which number 562 excluding those in Burma covers an area of about 598,138 square miles out of 1,575,500 square miles, the total area of India. According to the latest figures available the population of Indian States is about 92,973,000 whereas that of the whole country is about 3,88,800,000. Thus the States cover about two-fifths of the area of India. their population being about one-fourth of the whole of India.

The Indian States present the widest diversity in regard to size, resources, geographical features and economic progress. They vary in size from Hyderabad with an area of 82,700 square miles, a population of over 16,184,000 and an annual revenue of about Rs. 9.15¾ crores to small States in Kathiawar which are no better than petty holdings yielding only very small revenue. Kashmir which is approximately equal to Hyderabad in size has a population of nearly 4,021,000 and gets an annual revenue of about Rs. 3 crores. Mysore which is 29,475 square miles in size and has a population of about 73,29,000 gets an annual revenue of about 3.96 crores. Travancore and Cochin which are perhaps the most densely populated States in India cover an area of about 9,100 square miles, and have a population of about 7,493,000 people, get an annual revenue of a little less than 4 crores. In Rajputana and West India are situated numerous States, most of them too small to be indicated on the map. For instance in Rajputana is the petty state of Lava covering an area of not more than nineteen square miles. Among the 562 States in India, no less than 286 lie in Kathiawar and Guzarat. The formation of many of these states is largely an accident of history. It is curious that hereditary nobles such as the Maharaja of Parlakimedi, Maharaja of Jeypur, or the Zamindars of Bengal who hold larger tracts of land than the petty

chieftains of some of the Kathiawar States are inferior in status to the latter.

Nature is seen in her different aspects in the States. They present the grandest as well as the simplest forms of nature. Travancore and Cochin, the most southerly of the Indian States constitute the most picturesque portion of India. A succession of placid lagoons or back-waters connected by a series of navigable canals, the majestic hill scenery and magnificent primeval forests and the undulating surface of the states make them the garden of India. Mysore and Hyderabad with their uplands, hills and plains are rich in mineral resources, rivers, forests and waterfalls and are richer with natural beauties and historical associations. In the Mahratta and Kathiawar countries the weary traveller is relieved of the monotony of travel by a rare panorama of mountain scenery. The dry and arid plains of Rajputana with their rich mountain fastnesses remind us of ancient Hindu chivalry and romance. Central India with its dense forests still remains the home of many tribes of primitive people. Kashmir which lies to the south of the Karakoram range "where three empires meet" is richly favoured by nature with important mountain ranges, dales valleys and lakes. While the charm of these States lingers long in the minds of the tourist there are also States which are situated in inhospitable and unproductive regions where failure of monsoon is more than a mere normal feature. Such geographical features have adversely affected the economic condition of some states particularly of those in the arid tracts of Rajputana, the mountainous parts of northern and northwestern India and in the rocky regions of Central India.

It is difficult to classify all the States under any general heading; but the following classification made by the Butler Committee is generally acceptable.

	Classes of States, Estates etc.	Number.	Area in Sq. miles.	Population.	Revenue in crores of rupees
1	The States the rulers of which are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right.	108	514.886	59.846,186	42.16
2	The States the rulers of which are represented in the Chamber of Princes by 12 members of their order elected by themselves.	127	76.845	8,004,114	2.89
3	Estates, Jagirs and others.	327	6,406	801.674	.74

Historically they may be classified another way. According to Sir Barton they are:—

(*a*) old Hindu States such as the Rajput States of Rajputana, Central India, Kathiawar and Travancore and the small Rajput States of the Himalayas. (*b*) parts of the Mughal Empire, the governors of which became independent and founded their own kingdoms. In this group may be mentioned Hyderabad, Rampur, Oudh and Bengal the last

two of which became parts of the British Empire. Similarly Mysore and Pudukkottai grew out of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. (*c*) principalities founded by military adventurers in the confusion that followed the break up of the Mughal and Maharatta Empires. Among them mention may be made of the Mahratta States, Gwalior, Baroda, Indore and Kolhapur, the Sikh States and the Moslem States of Bhopal, Bhahawalpur etc. (*d*) of minor importance from the political point of view and the small feudatory States of Orissa and Central India most of which were founded by the Rajputs after the Muslim invasions. Except Mayurbhanj and a few others which enjoy full internal jurisdiction the rest enjoy limited powers. (*e*) some have been created by the British. Benares is one such which was recreated in 1911 and given to a member of its former ruling dynasties with all the insignia appertaining to an Indian prince.

Novelists have described the Indian States as the land of wild romance and mystery. The States range from well-administered ones full of old-world charm about them to those which have not yet emerged from their mediaevalism. Some of the rulers combine in themselves the gravity of Harley Street with the dignity of a minor kingship in India. But a good number of the States are still patriarchal and feudal in character and are under autocratic rule, the ruling princes cherishing the theory of the divine right of kingship. Even among these princes a change is coming over. They are anxious to avoid the displeasure of the touring Viceroy or the Resident who keeps a watchful eye on the States.

In the larger States such as Mysore, Baroda, Travancore and Gwalior as also in some smaller ones, the administration is sound and efficient though the higher grades of the civil service are proportionately highly paid compared with the smaller members of the official hierarchy. In some States appointments are still the gift of those in authority and are not influenced by the qualifications and merits of the candidates. It is said that sometime ago in a particular State the Inspector of Dancing girls was appointed Chief Justice and granted an extra allowance for the new office.

The character of the administration in the State is largely dependent on the personality and character of the ruling prince. Under a sagacious and far-seeing ruler the administration is more satisfactory than under an inefficient and bigoted ruler, for he chooses his advisers and officers properly and keeps himself in close touch with the administration. Unlike the Governor of a British Indian Province the ruler of an Indian State has a stake in it and a permanent interest in the people. Stories are told of a few among them visiting villages unattended to obtain first-hand knowledge of the condition of their subjects.

Some forty States have established High Courts more or less based on the British Indian model and have also introduced the complex hierarchy of the Bench and the Bar with their concomitent and inevitable results, laws' delays. Opinion is however divided on the wisdom of this change. Some think that justice would be speedier and more equitable under the old village Panchayats. But it

chieftains of some of the Kathiawar States are inferior in status to the latter.

Nature is seen in her different aspects in the States. They present the grandest as well as the simplest forms of nature. Travancore and Cochin, the most southerly of the Indian States constitute the most picturesque portion of India. A succession of placid lagoons or back-waters connected by a series of navigable canals, the majestic hill scenery and magnificent primeval forests and the undulating surface of the states make them the garden of India. Mysore and Hyderabad with their uplands, hills and plains are rich in mineral resources, rivers, forests and waterfalls and are richer with natural beauties and historical associations. In the Mahratta and Kathiawar countries the weary traveller is relieved of the monotony of travel by a rare panorama of mountain scenery. The dry and arid plains of Rajputana with their rich mountain fastnesses remind us of ancient Hindu chivalry and romance. Central India with its dense forests still remains the home of many tribes of primitive people. Kashmir which lies to the south of the Karakoram range "where three empires meet" is richly favoured by nature with important mountain ranges, dales valleys and lakes. While the charm of these States lingers long in the minds of the tourist there are also States which are situated in inhospitable and unproductive regions where failure of monsoon is more than a mere normal feature. Such geographical features have adversely affected the economic condition of some states particularly of those in the arid tracts of Rajputana, the mountainous parts of northern and northwestern India and in the rocky regions of Central India.

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Historically they may be classified another way. According to Sir Barton they are:—

(*a*) old Hindu States such as the Rajput States of Rajputana, Central India, Kathiawar and Travancore and the small Rajput States of the Himalayas. (*b*) parts of the Mughal Empire, the governors of which became independent and founded their own kingdoms. In this group may be mentioned Hyderabad, Rampur, Oudh and Bengal the last

two of which became parts of the British Empire. Similarly Mysore and Pudukkottai grew out of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. (*c*) principalities founded by military adventurers in the confusion that followed the break up of the Mughal and Maharatta Empires. Among them mention may be made of the Mahratta States, Gwalior, Baroda, Indore and Kolhapur, the Sikh States and the Moslem States of Bhopal, Bhahawalpur etc. (*d*) of minor importance from the political point of view and the small feudatory States of Orissa and Central India most of which were founded by the Rajputs after the Muslim invasions. Except Mayurbhanj and a few others which enjoy full internal jurisdiction the rest enjoy limited powers. (*e*) some have been created by the British. Benares is one such which was recreated in 1911 and given to a member of its former ruling dynasties with all the insignia appertaining to an Indian prince.

Novelists have described the Indian States as the land of wild romance and mystery. The States range from well-administered ones full of old-world charm about them to those which have not yet emerged from their mediaevalism. Some of the rulers combine in themselves the gravity of Harley Street with the dignity of a minor kingship in India. But a good number of the States are still patriarchal and feudal in character and are under autocratic rule, the ruling princes cherishing the theory of the divine right of kingship. Even among these princes a change is coming over. They are anxious to avoid the displeasure of the touring Viceroy or the Resident who keeps a watchful eye on the States.

In the larger States such as Mysore, Baroda, Travancore and Gwalior as also in some smaller ones, the administration is sound and efficient though the higher grades of the civil service are proportionately highly paid compared with the smaller members of the official hierarchy. In some States appointments are still the gift of those in authority and are not influenced by the qualifications and merits of the candidates. It is said that sometime ago in a particular State the Inspector of Dancing girls was appointed Chief Justice and granted an extra allowance for the new office.

The character of the administration in the State is largely dependent on the personality and character of the ruling prince. Under a sagacious and far-seeing ruler the administration is more satisfactory than under an inefficient and bigoted ruler, for he chooses his advisers and officers properly and keeps himself in close touch with the administration. Unlike the Governor of a British Indian Province the ruler of an Indian State has a stake in it and a permanent interest in the people. Stories are told of a few among them visiting villages unattended to obtain first-hand knowledge of the condition of their subjects.

Some forty States have established High Courts more or less based on the British Indian model and have also introduced the complex hierarchy of the Bench and the Bar with their concomitent and inevitable results, laws' delays. Opinion is however divided on the wisdom of this change. Some think that justice would be speedier and more equitable under the old village Panchayats. But it

as such, presents his credentials to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of the State is an instance in point. The coloured uniforms used and the elaborate etiquette observed on such solemn occasions add colour and vividness to court life.

The proverbial hospitality of India is now to be seen largely in the Indian States where Viceregal visits and the visits of brother princes and high officials are generally marked by the holding of banquets followed sometimes by call. The Viceregal visit to a State is a great and rare festival; it is an occasion for the display of pomp and pageantry not to speak of expenditure. A State drive and a State Banquet are the normal features of the occasion. The prince pays an official visit to the Viceroy which is returned soon. The State Banquet affords an occasion for the ruler to make a speech proposing the toast of the Viceroy when he generally recapitulates at some length, and sometimes with a certain amount of justifiable pride the progress made by the State and the future policy of the government. The Viceroy in his reply usually compliments the ruler on his beneficent rule and wishes him many years of prosperous life. At times when he feels that the State has not been maintaining its reputation or has fallen short of his expectation he takes the opportunity to offer advice to the ruler in words whose meaning cannot be missed. Occasionally what the Viceroy says of one State is applicable to the whole of Indian India. Such were for instance the implications of the speech delivered sometime ago by His Excellency Lord Linlithgow at the banquet held in his honour at Udaipur to which we shall have occasion to refer in detail. About such Viceregal visits to the Indian States a recent writer shrewdly remarked:—"The people benefit at least in one respect from Viceregal visits; the roads along which His Excellency will pass are always put into good repair which with luck may last out to the next visit."

It is generally considered that the Indian Princes are too lavish in their expenditure and too vain in showing themselves off with their heavy diamonds, rubies and ornaments But it must be said that with the advance of westernism even in the Indian States and the adoption of the western mode of dress by the princes such highly costly ornaments are being given up. In their desire to rise in the social scale some of them have constructed mansions at Delhi, the imperial capital, the provincial capitals and the summer resorts in India where they could move with Their Excellencies. They are evincing keen interest in Horse Shows and races, and cups are endowed in their names. But their occasional lavishness cannot be the standard by which to judge them. A majority of the Indian Princes are really anxious to rule their States well. A good number of them are not unbridled autocrats as they are at times represented to be. Many of them take pride in the public institutions they maintain in their States. It is really striking to see that institutions like hospitals and schools in some of the States compare quite favourably with those maintained in places of equal importance in the adjacent districts of British India. The jails in many of the Indian States are better kept and the

prisoners better treated than in British India.

But these are exceptions. Rulers are not wanting who more often fly in aeroplanes than settle down on earth. Some of them get more accustomed to life in Paris or Vienna than to life in their own country. There are again others who are more happy in going about the Empire as prominent members of cricket teams than in watching the progress of their States and promoting the welfare of their toiling subjects. There have been instances where women have been responsible for the deposition or abdication of rulers. The story of the Maharaja of a North Indian State who had to abdicate his *gadi* for a dancing girl is still fresh in our minds. She escaped from the palace and was living with her new lover, a wealthy mill-owner at Bombay. The palace officers including an A. D. C. and the military officers who had been searching for her found her driving one evening arm in arm with her paramour on Malabar Hill at Bombay. They shot the husband and would have run away with the girl had not two British officers come to her rescue, hearing the alarms she raised. The girl was saved, but the Maharaja's abdication followed. The harems in some States work wonders. Once a ruler of another North Indian State was attracted by the charms of a young girl in the harem, but the other members of the harem who grew jealous of her brought up against her a charge of theft of a palace jewel. This came to the notice of the ruler who in a fit of drink outraged her modesty as a result of which she died. The secret could not come out. State fell into bankruptcy and a British officer was appointed to restore the finances of the State. The Maharaja felt troubled over the slave girl and wanted to expiate his sin by undertaking a pilgrimage. He confessed his guilt to the new officer and asked him money for meeting the expenses of the pilgrimage. The matter went up to higher quarters and the result was his abdication. However such instances are fortunately rare and hence exceptions.

There is a school of thought in British India which considers the princes as relics of mediaevalism and of feudal age, a blatant anachronism in modern polity, which rather than serving as a source of help for the progress of India are a drawback and a check even on British Indian aspirations and progress. The States are considered to have outlived their usefulness, for as subordinate allies of the British, they are considered to be helping the imperialistic designs of the British in India. Such outright condemnation leaves out of account the services rendered by the princely order for the preservation of Hindu culture and traditions and institutions. With their proud history and achievements congenial to India's political genius the princely order constitutes a most stable element in the future history of India. In any constitution for the whole of India—Indian India and British India—the States have a noble and important part to play. Their traditions and the fact that they represent two-fifths of India and more than one-fifth of the Indian population entitle them to a good share in the future constitution of India. But one fails to see how persons drawn from different classes of society with no

considerable legislative or administrative experience are more entitled to decide the fate of India when the Indian Princes are to be sitting dumb in the cosy corners of their palaces, brooding about their past and not thinking of the future of India.

The Solarium at Jamnagar

JAMNAGAR has many beautiful attractions such as the Picture Gallery one of the best in India Kahota, Kotha, the Irwin Hospital, with Radium and X'Ray Branches, the Ranjit Sagar Lake, the Solarium and the like. The Solarium offers a very interesting study alike to a man in the street and to those interested in the art of treating ailments, human flesh is heir to.

The sun is the largest, the most powerful and visible symbol of the Divine power that exerts influence over every minutest possible atom of the Universe and is the maintainer of all inanimate and animate objects that exist on earth. The utility of its power in treating diseases and maintaining body hale and hearty, able enough to face the fret and fever of worldly existence, dates so far back as the time when the human society was in its crude and initial stages. It is enjoined by the Hindu scriptures that "Sandhya" should be performed at the time of Sunrise on the bank of a river, after having a morning dip in the water. This religious dictate, directing as it does, the chanting of "Mantras," raising the arms towards the sun, ensures a sun-bath for all the limbs of the body in the open ground in ideal and healthy environments with a large portion of oxygen, which keep the body healthy, active and vigorous, as the ancient Rishis who punctually performed this rite enjoyed a very pious, prolonged and healthy life of over 100 years. Many of the present-day diseases ase the fruits of our addicting too much to the socalled artificial civilisation and social life, and were undreamt of in those golden days.

The same principle of drawing on Nature for cure is observed in the Solarium on a scientific basis. In the Solarium various diseases are treated by means of sun's rays without drug or knife and the resultant cure has a lasting and constructive effect on the body.

The sun's rays, to be non-technical, are divided into primitive classes and one or a combination of two or more sorts of rays, in varying degrees of intensity, is applied to the patient, in the way as medicine, the nature of the disease and the power of the skin to resist the pressure of exposure to the light.

The Solarium is erected on a quiet and select site where there is nothing to obstruct the direct flood of the sun's rays from sun-rise to sun-set at all the times of the day. The light of this place has more of ultra violet rays than the sun's rays in busy and inhabited parts where the path of the rays is surcharged with alien atoms in the atmosphere which tend to deteriorate and pollute the efficacy of the pure rays.

This Solarium was designed by Dr. Saidman, who is regarded as an authority on ray treatment of diseases. He formerly built two Solaria in France and the Solarium at Jamnagar is the only one, not only in the whole of India but in the whole of the Eastern Hemisphere and is fully equipped with all the changes and improvements suggested by his wide breadth of experience of the working of those two solaria. His late Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb had undergone a treatment in Dr. Saidman's Solaria at Paris. The efficacy and the amazing result of the treatment he received there attracted his attention and his love for his subjects was instrumental in creating in him a noble desire to provide such a Solarium at Jamnagar (the Capital of his State), so that the marvellous treatment available to the people in a distant country like France, can be placed within the easy reach of his countrymen. But unfortunately before his cherished ambition took any concrete shape he breathed his last. His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb therefore completed the unfinished work and brought it to its present level of a full-fledged Solarium. Dr. Saidman paid a visit to the Solarium in April 1934 and examined its perfect construction in every detail according to the specification of the two Solaria he had built, before it was opened for treatment in the next month. Since then the treatment has been successful in curing the diseases of many patients including those who were tired of previous fruitless treatment by other means. It is placed under the supervision of the staff specially trained in the particular branch of the science. In order to give an idea to the observer of what wonderful cures have been effected by the treatment, photographs of difficult cases cured by the treatment have been exhibited in the entrance room of the Solarium.

THE CONSTRUCTION.

The main structure is made up of two parts (1) fixed and (2) revolving. The revolving part consists of a vertical tower 40 feet high and a horizontal plane and platform is 114 feet long and 20 feet broad and is at a height of 30 feet from the ground level. The walls of the roof of the cabins are made of insulated materials There are ten cabins, five on each side. Each cabin is 13 feet long and 9 feet broad. In each of them there are large windows and a glazed roof to let in the light for sun bath of the patient according to the requirement.

The cabins are so designed that the sun's rays directly penetrate every nook and corner of each cabin. On the roof there are two sliding lids, one of sheet iron and the other of glass. The outer walls of the cabin can disappear entirely by means of a sliding arrangement. Every cabin has a sofa which revolves in a vertical plane. This, combined with the horizontal movement of the entire platform which is switched on to face the sun, enables the rays to centre perpendicularly on the exposed part of the patient at any time of the day.

Above the sofa are placed glass concentrators. Slightly below them are fitted different kinds of filters. Round the sofa are attached lamps of various denominations of artificial

rays. There is air-cooling arrangement near the sofa which maintains the temperature to the required degree of intensity. Each cabin is furnished with a bath room with a shower bath arrangement. Cabin No. 5 is specially fitted with ultra violet fitters in the roof as well as in the outer walls for the diagnosis of skin diseases. There is a long narrow passage running on one side of the platform which leads to the different cabins. All round the cabins there is an open gallery. On one side in the centre are a lift, a stair-case and a lavatory and on the other are the observatory and the apparatus for working and controlling the entire Solarium.

The tower is a cylindrical structure of iron frame work. It rotates on a steel pivot on ball bearings. In the celler at the base of the Solarium are the motor of the lift, the electrical equipment, the water tank and the container of refuse. The lift which runs in it is large enough to carry a patient on stretcher.

The Solarium primarily signifiee a house for treatment by sun-rays. Various kinds of artificial rays are also used in addition to the sun-rays to suit the requirements of varying cases.

Tunisia Day Celebrations in Baroda

THE Tunisia day was celebrated throughout Baroda State under the auspices of a Committee appointed for the purpose with Mr. B. K. Bhate, the Revenue Commissioner as its Chairman, on 21st May 1943 in response to H. E the Viceroy's appeal. In Baroda city, the day started with a grand rally at the Maidan facing the Laxmi Vilas Palace under the directions of Col. Sadekar Pawar and and Major L.H. Aquino, the Police Commissioner. The Military (including Cavalry), Police Force, the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and the A. R. P. contingent participated. The senior member of the Executive Council Raj-ratna, B.A. Gaekwar presided. On his arrival at the place he was conducted to the saluting base and given the salute. The C. O. then obtaining due permission for the purpose, three cheers were called for and lustily given for the Allied forces. Mr. Gaekwar then addressed the rally. In the course of his address Mr. Geakwar said :—

"It is my proud privilege to address such a distinguished gathering today, in celebration of the victory of of the Allied Forces in Tunisia. The attention of the world today, stands riveted on the magnificent achievement, of the allied arms in the North African campaign. The forces of democracy have once again demonstrated to the world their ability to destroy the curse of Nazism and Fascism ; and it is but in the fitness of things, that we in India are celebrating this mementous achievement of the united nations. To quote the eloquent words of His Excellency the Viceroy ,"The African Continent has been cleansed and great forces of the enemy have been captured or utterly destroyed. The great strategic highway, the Mediteranean has been opened and along the length of its southern littoral stand division upon division of French, American, British

Dominion and Indian troops all flushed with victory, all brothers-in-arms, whose mutual confidence has been tried in the test of battle, all eager for the next move forward and filled with an implacable resolve to destroy root and branch the foul growth of Nazism that has cast its deadly shade over the length and breadth of continental Europe."

Tributes have been showered upon the forces of the United Nations in full measure, and no words can adequately do justice to the gallantry displayed by them during all the arduous campaigns in North Africa, throughout these fateful years. We also reflect with pride, on the glorious deeds of the 4th Indian Division, which has won laurels for itself in this Tunisian campaign.

The fact that the Axis looses throughout these campaigns have been enormous will give us some idea of the magnitude of this victory.

Modern warfare affects all classes of population—a warfare in which all classes have to play their part to the utmost of their ability and resources.

Let us remember that the worst of the war is not yet over and that we must be prepared to face, still more trials and tribulations so that the menace to civilisation may be finally removed. The need for strengthening the war effort is in no way less imperative than before.

The part played by our state in the present war is known to you all and I need not reiterate the details here. You will also join me in felicitating the allied forces on their brilliant achievement, and in praying to Almighty to strengthen their hands for the final victory which is bound to be theirs and to enable people once again to live a normal life."

The march past was a very impressive spectacle. Mr. Gaekwar took the Salute. A large number of official as well as non-official gentlemen were present at the function and were seated in beautifully decorated 'Shamiyana.' Considerable crowds turned out to witness the display.

In the evening an interesting programme of gymnasium sports was held at the Vithal Kreeds Bhavan. Over twenty institutions cooperated in this function. A large number of people were present.

At night a programme of entertainments consisting of Indian Music, dancing etc. was held, when the Resident, Mr. L. W. Jardine, Major and Mrs. Hailey, Mr. and Mrs. Hay, Captain Palmer and other officers of the R. A. F. and I. A. F., Mr. B. A. Gaekwad, the President of the Celebration Committee, Mr. B. K. Bhate, Col. Sadekar Pawar, the Baroda Suba Mr. D. V. Gaekwad, Mr. V. S. Pradhan and others were present.

The principal Government offices, public buildings, statues of the late and the present Maharajas etc. were gaily decorated and also illuminated at night. Sweets were distributed among school children and prayers were arranged in public places of worship in the city.

Sir Mirza's First Year of Administration

(By Pt. A. P. SHARMA)

TWELVE months have elapsed since Sir Mirza Ismail, took the reins of the administration of the State of Jaipur into his hands: the 18th June, 1943, marks the completion of an eventful year: It is natural to pause at this mile-stone and survey the reforms—administrative, social and political which have been ushered in Jaipur within so short a span of time.

Sir Mirza's intense passion to see the change of decades compressed into an year is universally recognised. His imaginative foresight knows no hush-hush policy. He formulates a programme, if only to be implemented here and now. He has the knack of doing the right thing at the right time. To quote a memorable phrase of Thomas Hardy, his is the "well-judged execution of a well-judged plan of things." So great is the volume of constructive work which Sir Mirza has done, during the last few months that the achievements of his predecessors during long years shrink into oblivion. He has recast the history of Jaipur into a new mould and pattern and enriched her heritage by his many and varied contributions to it.

SIR MIRZA'S REFORMIST DRIVE

As soon as Sir Mirza shouldered the onerous responsibility of the Premier-ship of Jaipur, he realised that the entire system of administration was one which called for a thorough overhaul and a radical alteration of policy, based as it had been for years fundamentally on old-fashioned tradition and the rule and technique of routine. Sir Mirza is first a Statesman and then an administrator. His approach to problems is so direct and telling that he stands in refreshing contrast to his predecessors. His reformist drive has met with opposition from interested quarters but his unimpeachable integrity of purpose, his pursuit of a noble cause, and his winning manners and charming disposition, have enabled him to overcome obscurantism and achieve a great deal. Jaipur is a strong-hold of Hindu-Muslim unity; here the two sister communities have been amicably living together for centuries. A devout Muslim, Sir Mirza is also a devout champanion of Hindu-Muslim cancord. His ardent desire is to weld the Hindu and the Muslim into a "unified pattern." His sense of fairness and impartiality in the conduct of administration is responsible for holding the scales even.

With his large and varied experience in public affairs and administration, Sir Mirza has successfully tackled the Prajamandal and secured its cooperation for constructive work. The policy of Sir Mirza's predecessors had created in the mind of the Prajamandal an acute and profound feeling of frustration and resentment. He saw that the problem demanded a

complete reversal of the policy of hostility and his usual generous instincts, adopted a conciliatory policy, and gave it a place in the net work of committees started by him for promoting nation-building activities.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

When he arrived in Jaipur, he was struck by vast potentialities of the state —her rich soil and mineral wealth which awaited only to be tapped for the material prosperity of the people of Jaipur. He saw that the peasantry was groaning under the deadweight of the old revenue system which was "uneven in operation and arbitrary in character." To bring this chaotic state of affairs to an end, a liberal land revenue policy has been formulated and a uniform system of assessment has been evolved for the amelioration of the tenantry.

Another bright feature of the new scheme is that along with the introduction of the recent settlement reforms "all arrears of rent, cesses and grazing dues outstanding against the tenants have been written off and they have been assured that liberal remissions and suspensions would be granted to them in lean years."

IRRIGATION AND HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEMES

To some it may appear venturesome to think of the immense possibilities of irrigation and hydro-electric scheme in Jaipur, but to Sir Mirza's resourceful mind it presented no insurmountable difficulty. He made extensive tours throughout the length and breadth of the State and saw that in "Jaipur" there was a vast scope for irrigation works and the generation of hydro-electric power. Plans are now ready for large-scale irrigation.

It would not be a travesty of truth to say that no aspect of the problem has escaped the notice of Sir Mirza to turn "what is now miles of sandy desert" into 'smiling green fields. Agriculture is, indeed, the principal industry as well as the chief sources of income The prosperity of the rural population has a direct bearing on agriculture, and as such, a Rural Development Committee, of which Sir Mirza himself is the President, has recently been appointed to make recommendations for provision of facilities to the cultivators and encouragement of better farming and rural reconstruction.

DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

Within this short period Sir Mirza, has also difinately succeeded in placing Jaipur State firmly on her feet on 'the road to industrialisation." The State abounds in rich mineral resources which only required organisation and enterprise to bring new industries into being. Sir Mirza's industrial policy has already captured the imagination of the Merchant princes and industrial magnates of Jaipur. Their minds have now turned to their home-land. Vital issues affecting the Industrial expansion and economic development of the State are engaging the attention of the Government. The establishment of the 'Bank of Jaipur' and the inauguration of the "Chamber of Commerce" are among the greatest contributions to State in the sphere of Commerce and finance.

HIS ARISTOTATDION CONCEPTION OF THE STATE AND THE INAUGURATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

So that Jaipur may be a progressive and modern state, several Special Committees were set up. One such Committee, the Municipal Reforms Committee, was appointed with a non-official majority. The policy of associating the people with the Government of their affairs has been carried further by the introduction of the Constitutional Reforms Committee which has already concluded its deliberations. The report is at present a confidential document but it will come into being.

Among other important reforms are the raising of the Chief Court to the status of the High Court as the highest tribunal of Justice in the State, and the separation of the judiciary over the executive, and codification of Laws. With the orientation of his Educational policy—about 65 new primary schools, have been opened in the State to promote literacy amongst all classes of His Highness's subjects, including the depressed classes.

But Sir Mirza's scheme of educational reorganisation is not restricted to Primary and High Schools. His aim is to give young Jaipurians training "on the highest attainable level" and the advantages of "a real University Education" through the medium of a University for Rajputana.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The scare of unemployment is a thing of the past. All round there are signs of a new life in the city and State of Jaipur. One finds a multitude of labourers working here, there and everywhere. If Sir Mirza had not opened so many avenues of employment in Jaipur in these days of acute stress, food riots would have been the order of the day. But as a result of Sir Mirza's long view of things and wise administrative policy, perfect peace and contentment prevail in the State.

A POPULAR PRIME MINISTER

Never has Jaipur had so popular a Prime Minister as Sir Mirza. He has within the short space of a year endeared himself to His Highness's subjects. He has issued specific instruction to the higher officers of the State never to refuse interviews to those who desire to see and make representations to them, and his accessibility even to be humblest of people is widely known and greatly appreciated.

It is no exaggeration to say that Sir Mirza has fulfilled our expectations in an abundant measure and the hope is widely cherished that he will have a long term of office so that Jaipur may have to its credit, glorious achievements and become ere long a model for North Indian States.

Late Maharaja Sir Madhav Rao Scindia

(BY A. CHAND)

THE State of Gwalior recently celebrated the 18th anniversary of the death of His late Highness Maharajah Madhavrao, father of the Present ruler whose long rule of the Gwalior state for a period of 30 years was marked by progress and prosperity in all directions. Endowed with irrepressible energy which ever sought not merely application but typical expression, Maharajah Madhav Rao was a dynamic personality. His fascinating personality appealed to all who came in contact with him. His frank and free intercourse with his nobles and his subjects of all classes and creeds made him beloved as ruler in his own state. His relations with the British Government were extremely cordial. He had a feeling for nature and a keen sense of humour. He took considerable interest in everything from an old ruin or an archaeological site to landscape gardening and the latest erections of new architecture. In finance and economic matters he had a sure judgment. He was extremely careful about the need for the husbanding of the resources of his state for the benefit of his people and of India, and he rightly utilised the opportunity to develop his state on modern lines. He left a full treasury aud an efficient administration, in contrast with many states in which finance is not a strong point or money is not spent freely for the good of the people. The late Maharajah spent freely for the needs of his own state and yet had enough to spend on developing the resources of India. Oppression of the poor, dishonesty and disorder he put down with a stern hand. It is to his Late Highness that his subjects owe the establishment of representative institutions such as the various municipal and district boards, the Legislative Assembly and others. Western methods of medicine and surgery were practically unknown in Gwalior before the commencement of his reign. A modest beginning was made in 1887 by organising a department to provide medical relief on western lines. Starting with half-a-dozen small institutions in 1887 and an outlay of Rs. 18,000 the organisation grew until at present there are nearly 150 hospitals and other medical institutions, both for treatment on European and on indigenous lines entailing an annual outlay by the Government of over five lakhs of rupees. Somewhat similar progress is shown in regard to education. There was hardly anything in the nature of public instruction before he became the ruler, but now the annual budget is nearly Rs. 13 lakhs. Provision has also been made for special classes of students. In 1900 when hostilities broke out in China, his Late Highness not only presented a hospital-ship but proceeded in person on General Gaselee's staff. Again in the Boer War as in the European conflagration of 1910 the resources of the state were promptly

placed at the disposal of the British. The Gwalior Transport Corps showed itself a worthy successor to the Gwalior Imperial Service Transport which took part in the Chitral Expedition of 1897-98 and Punjab and Tirah expeditions of the same period. The welfare of the agriculturists was always his concern and all possible measures were done by him to improve their position. He took a vast interest in the uplift of the village and opened a separate department for rural uplift and trained many young men to educate the villagers in modern methods of agriculture. He divided the whole state into circles consisting of a few villages each with the main idea that every circle should have a model farm which 'should not be a glasshouse experiment laboratory but must be economically efficient, following the methods within the reach of every farmer. At the time of his death he had numerous projects aiming at the welfare of his subjects, but did not live long enough to see all these projects materialise.

Trained Workers for Mysore Villages

IT was in 1927 that the Village Panchayet Scheme was introduced in the State with a view to bringing into working order the twelve thousand odd Village Panchayets in the State. The extensive propaganda that was being carried on all along did not yield to satisfactory results and a scheme for intensive propaganda in selected villages was launched in 1936. By the end of 1941-42, the scheme was worked in 273 villages and appreciable results were achieved: but the expectations of Government that the welfare work attempted in the model villages would stimulate similar work in other villages did not materialise and it was felt that the general standard of a great number of villages in matters of sanitation and panchayet administration still required improvement. During the Dasara Session of the Assembly in 1941, a suggestion was made that at least 150 villages should be worked as model villages every year in each district.

The matter was examined by Government and it was considered necessary to lay down a definite programme of rural reconstruction on a wider scale than before so that within a period of five years the general standard of the panchayet administration and of village amenities may be improved. With a view to associating non-official initiative and direction in the new scheme of rural welfare work, Government have proposed to utilise the services of honorary workers residing in the hoblies. These workers are to assist in creating a live interest in the villages and in co-ordinating work in the several departments. Each hobli is to be in charge of a worker and if the number of villages in any hobli is more than forty, two workers will be posted.

TRAINING TO THE WORKERS

In February last 130 hobli workers were selected and were sent in batches to the Rural Welfare Centres in Closepet and Dodballapur for train-

ing. The course of training consists of instructions as regards rural conditions—poverty, ignorance, etc.,—agriculture, village industries, village improvements and propaganda. In addition to the basic training, the workers are taken to villages round about for actual work and taught to conduct economic and house surveys. A series of lectures has been delivered already on various subjects pertaining to rural reconstruction. They will also get training in scouting. After training, the workers will be made to conduct demonstration in various subjects at the welfare centres. They will take up village uplift work by actually engaging themselves in improvement works, adult literacy classes, etc. It is expected that the first batch of workers will get trained by about the middle of June 1943 and they will be put in charge of the hobli work from 1st July 1943.

NON-OFFICIAL AGENCY

The distinctive feature of this new scheme is that the immediate agency employed for carrying on concentrated propaganda is not official but non-official. The hobli workers work in an honorary capicity and are selected from among persons who have intimate knowledge of rural problems. They reside in the hoblies and will assist in creating an interest in the villagers themselves in the direction of rural uplift. The worker is given training both in theory and practice according to a carefully prepared programme so as to give him the necessary knowledge and confidence to tackle the various village problems. With the guidance of officers of the Revenue and Development Departments and co-operation and sympathy from non-official leaders belonging to the local and legislative bodies, there is every hope that the progress of this beneficent scheme will be satisfactory.

Re-Alignment of Petty Principalities

Its Political and Economic Implications

(By HISTORICUS)

THE scheme of attachment of altogether 454 semi-jurisdictional and non-jurisdictional estates in Western India and Gujarat into 18 bigger States in their vicinity, outlined in His Excellency the Crown Representative's Communique of April 16, 1943, has apparently come into the hegemony of the Western India States like a plough into an ant-hill. It has shaken the Chiefs and Talukdars' faith in the sanctity of solemn pledges of the British Government contained in the Walker Settlement of 1807 and reiterated times out of mind in most emphatic terms, notably by the Court of Directors of the East India Company in their Despatch of July 20, 1830, by the Government of Bombay in their Resolution No. 4145 of 1901 and, last but not least, by the late Lord Reading in his Viceregal Darbar speech at Rajkot on November 24, 1924. In every one of the above authoritative pronouncements definite guarantees

were given to the Chiefs and Talukdars for maintaining inviolate the integrity of their estates as separate independent entities and for preserving their status as sovereigns in their own estates enjoyed by them from time immemorial without let or hindrance.

Another powerful indictment of the scheme of attachment put forward by the Chiefs and Talukdars in their representations to His Excellency the Crown Representative is broad-based on the categorical imperative of a transfer of political relationship, namely, the consent of Chiefs and Talukdars and the people affected by the change, re-emphasized as late as in 1927 in the Indian States' Inquiry Committee's Report. Their prescriptive rights as sovereigns and their agreement to any change in the existing relationship between the Paramount Power and themselves being, in their eyes, the dominant and fundamental issues at stake, the Chiefs and Talukdars who are rapidly developing more or less complete corporate consciousness for the protection of their ancestral privileges, do not appear to have been impressed by the meretricious talk about the progressive development of the countryside and the diffused happiness and contentment of the subject population postulated as an inevitable sequel to a "drastic simplification" of the present complex administrative mechanism in a congeris of minutely sub-divided petty principalities.

A third objection raised by the Chiefs and Talukdars to the scheme of attachment derives considerable cogency from the manifest loopholes they have detected in its practical application to the far-flung smaller units. The principles of geographical proximity, dynastic consanguinity and political affinity and economic inter-relatedness which are set forth in His Excellency the Crown Representative's Communique as the bases on which the smaller units are allotted to the bigger States, are set at naught in not a few instances, thereby opening the flood-gates to sharp differences of opinion and violent clashes of economic interests between the Talukdars and their more wealthy and powerful overlords. Curiously enough, the Chok Thana Talukas, the Zainabad, Patdi, Bajana and Jhimjhuvada Talukas, and Gavridad, Khorana and Dhamarpur, which are geographically contiguous to Palitana, Dhrangadhra and Morvi (or, for that matter, Rajkot) States respectively, are nevertheless attached to Bhavnagar, Baroda and Nawanagar States respectively. The lie direct has, in like manner, been given to the principle of dynastic consanguinity and political affinity when the Gadhka, Kotharia, Lodhika and Pal Talukas, whose Talukdars are but the off-shoots of the parent ruling dynasty of Rajkot State and which are conterminous with the Rajkot state territory, are assigned to Nawanagar State. No less unceremoniously has the principle of economic affinities been brushed aside in the amalgamation of the Dhrafa Thana and the Bagasra and Champrajpur Talukas in the comparatively remote Nawanagar and Baroda States respectively instead of being attached to Porbandar State with which they have for years past maintained direct trade relations with gratifying results. The artificial diversion of trade from its natural

channels by raising tariff walls and similar other devices will by syllogistic necessity result in its emasculation, besides sowing seeds of endless feuds among the attaching States engaged in break-neck competition.

A fourth objection raised by the Chiefs and Talukdars as well as by the people residing in the amalgamated estates is born of their honest sceptism concerning the attached States' preparedness to think more realistically and to recognise the rights of the individual more fully than they have done for centuries past the moment their geographical boundaries are suddenly extended as if by a thaumaturgist's wand. Will these major States (the Chiefs and Talukdars wonder) in a triee, so to say, be impelled by what they know about their past reactions to their Bhayats and Mul-Girasias' claims to come into their own and to their people's demands for an effective voice in the management of public affairs to enlist the widest possible co-operation of the subject population in exploring the potentialities of organised life to enable the meanest of their erstwhile inarticulate subjects to rise to the height of his opportunities? Experience has taught them to base their hopes on actual performances in the past rather than on speculative possibilities in the near or remote future.

Reforms in Indian States

(By S. P. SHARMA)

THE question of reforms in Indian States has been one of the most prominent issues engaging public attention in India for some time past. That such reform is needed may straightaway be admitted. But there is considerable confusion of thought as to the extent of the evils prevalent, as to the nature of the remedies called for, and as to the measure of advance practicable. Indeed, one may go further and say that the very goal to be kept in view by the reforms is not always clear. And yet strangely enough those engaged on behalf of the States people and those espousing the cause of the Rulers are constantly exchanging doubtful compliments, and stirring up mire, thereby effectually making confusion worse confounded. In the busy process of mud-slinging, the vision gets naturally dimmed, and political aim misdirected. It seems therefore that an attempt to examine objectively the entire problem, regardless of irrelevant or ephemeral issues, would be of very great use, no matter what its value might be. And the aim of the following paragraphs is nothing more.

To take up the position of the Princes first and to speak of them generally without reference to any one Ruler or State it has to be frankly admitted that there is ample room for improvement in the administration of most States, the evils obtaining being not only inefficiency but even the will to improve in some cases. It is also too late in the day for the Rulers to resent criticism from their plebean subjects or neighbours and to recall the mythological era when

kings were looked upon as representatives of divinity and sedition was considered to be a cardinal sin. The theory of the divine right of kings now only provokes a smile of derision. Again a tendency is observable in certain quarters to rely too much on their treaty rights with the British Crown and to look upon British India as a foreign political entity. Truth to say, whomsoever this might benefit, it will only create more trouble for the Rulers with their own subjects and with the people of British India. On ultimate analysis the much talked of treaties will be found to be of no greater avail than mere scraps of paper when pitted against the united will of the people of British India and of the States who are in very respect one and indivisible. No more unfortunate mistake could be made than to overlook or underestimate this fact.

As for the critics of the Princes, they are partly made up of States subjects and partly of people in British India. Generally speaking in their criticism of the Rulers, the latter lack intimate and first-hand knowledge of the evils complained of, and do not know the practical difficulties facing administrative reform in the States. They are actuated by democratic ideals and are too impatient to assess properly the wide gap that yawns between what is desirable and what is feasible. As for the states subjects, they are in most cases unable to stand on their own legs, and to agitate without extraneous support. Lack of political experience on the part of the leaders and of sufficient enthusiasm on the part of the people are thus effective handicaps to any serious political effort on the part of the subjects of Indian Princes. Exceptions of course to these statements there are but they are only such as serve to prove the general rule. Both the groups of workers are fired by unbounded enthusiasm and by a vision beautiful of the future; but neither has to view cold facts and to face grim reality. And hence much of the heat of popular agitation is without the necessary amount of light. But there are persons in both the groups who are not troubled overmuch with any political ideals but are out for personal benefit only. They must however be ignored just as, in the other camp, those Rulers must be ignored who believe everything is right in this best of all possible worlds, and persist in their old ways of life and misrule.

Granting then as a starting point that reform is needed in all Indian States and that it should be practicable, the next questions to be faced are what type of reform and in what direction. In far too many States even a decent administrative machinery is lacking. And where it exists, it is too often paralysed by constant and unnecessary interference on the part of the Ruler. Such an attitude undermines the efficiency of officials who will be reduced to the condition of head-clerks without self-confidence or initiative. And on the other hand no Ruler, even if willing, would be able to run a State like a household; he will give room for the growth of personal favourities who are a veritable pest in all public business.

It may appear that these remarks are trite; but a glance at the administrative reforms indicated as being necessary in very many States by H. H. the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes in Bombay sometime ago

will show that they are not. And the Jam Sahib certainly knows his brother princes.

More important than administrative reform, but not necessarily more urgent, is political reform. The latter involves not only specific measures but also an ideology behind them. During the last few years many of the Indian Princes have been promising representative institutions of sorts to their subjects. But from that fact, it is hazardous to conclude that all of them believe in democracy, and that the representative bodies instituted are only a prelude to responsible government in due course. As a matter of fact, it would be nearer the truth to say that the reforms are intended only to quiet agitation for the time being, and that they do not necessarily presage the advent of constitutional monarchy. In so far as persons imagine that the Princes have become converts to the doctrine of democracy, the chances are that they will soon be disillusioned. In very rough outline, democracy as a political philosophy means that the people are the sovereign body in a State, and that they govern themselves through its legislative, judicial and executive machinery. The Ruler is but a symbol of the State, and he need not be a hereditary office-holder either: he may also be elected for a term of years. It is highly doubtful if any Rulers are democratic in this sense. On the contrary they seem to have a political philosophy of their own which they would adapt to present needs but not abandon. A scholarly and illuminating exposition of it is found in the Report on Constitutional Reforms in Mysore prepared by Dr. Brajendranath Seal nearly ten years ago. According to it, the Indian Ruler is divinely entrusted with the welfare of a certain portion of humanity, and he has to promote it according to the eternal laws of Raja Dharma. His responsibility for beneficent administration is primarily moral, and failure in discharging it would be a sin on his part. A one-sentence summary of political ideologies like this is admittedly unsatisfactory, but the above may be taken to be not far from truth for practical purposes. The position indicated does not contemplate the people except as persons to be taken care of, and is thus not very complimentary to them. But in actual practice, the difference between a democracy and the Princely ideal need not be very wide. A Ruler in conformity with modern needs might have a representative assembly to assist him in knowing what the requirements of his people are, and without disregarding his dharma, he might even introduce responsible government, reserving of course certain powers in his hands to be used in the ultimate resort. But the spirit underlying such a constitution would differ much from that of democracy. Evidence of such a non-democratic spirit —not an undemocratic one, much less an anti-democratic one—has not indeed been wanting in the utterances of some of the Princes or of their advisers. The then Muslim Dewan of a South Indian State spoke a few years back about democracy in the west not having proved after all so secure and efficient a form of government as it had once been supposed to be; of course, his reference was to the growth and efficiency of the Fascist State. Similarly the Hindu Ruler of a certain State in Rajputana said a few months back that there was no

use in trying to foist alien institutions on India and that the States should have the full liberty to develop their own political institutions according to local traditions and genius. In this connection, the words of H.H. the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar uttered many months ago at Bombay may be quoted. The studied avoidance of any words denoting the acceptance of the democratic ideal deserves to be noted, and he will not be found to be alone and peculiar in that regard. The Jam Sahib said:

"I can however state with confidence and authority that God willing the Indian Rulers will not be found wanting in any reasonable and generous contribution which they may be called upon to make towards the ordered progress of the States and of their mother-land.....—... A Ruler, according to our traditions is great not by what he gets but by what he gives, with due regard to the genius of his people, and no falss notion of prestige need dissuade us from removing the legitimate grievances if any of our people, and from making our fullest possible contribution to maintain the reign of law and ordered progress within our States."

The reference to traditions, to the removal of grievances, and to the maintenance of law and order as the ideals may in particular be noticed.

Thus despite the introduction of representative institutions here and there, the prevailing ideology of the Princes is clearly non-democratic. Whether they hark back for inspiration to the old Hindu ideal of Rulers or whether they seek it in contemporary events and personalities, the net result appears to be the same! viz, they are yet to be convinced of the applicability of demoracy to India, at any rate to their own States. In the meantime they might go on liberalising their administrations bit by bit till there is hardly any difference in point of efficiency between British India and Indian States; indeed the latter might conceivably be more efficient as governments but the difference in the political philosophy underlying will be basic and fundamental. It appears that the Indian public have overlooked this difference, but the sooner they recognise it, the better will it be for the cause of mutual understanding between the two portions of political India.

Attachment of Talukas to Junagadh

Taluqdars Expresses Satisfaction

HIS Excellency the Crown Representative with the previous concurrence of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, having decided that 19 Talukas which are geographically contiguous to the Junagadh State territory should be attached to the Junagadh State, His Highness the Nawab Saheb by a Press Communiue issued on the 19th April 1943 extended to these Talukas a cordial and hearty welcome. Immediately on hearing the news that they were to be attached to Junagadh State, these Taluqdars manifested their

heartfelt satisfaction, and of their own accord expressed a keen desire to meet and pay their respects to His Highness the Nawab Saheb. In compliance with this wish His Highness invited them to meet him at Junagadh on the 4th June 1943 and in order to enable them to obtain authentic clarification on certain points in their instruments of attachment, which they asked for, His Highness also invited Lt.-Col. G. D. Williams Officer on Special Duty in the Political Department to give the Talukdars the benefit of discussions with him. In response to His Highness' invitations Lt. Col. Williams and all the Talukdars concerned attended the deliberations at Junagadh on the 4th and 5th June 1943. Lt Col. Williams gave all the Talukdars and their Kamdars a very patient hearing and explained and clarified fully all the points raised by them to their entire satisfaction for which the Talukdars and the Junagadh State are very grateful to him.

In the afternoon of the 4th June Lt. Col. Williams and all the Talukdars were invited to the Palace to meet His Highness at an informal Durbar. On his Highness' arrival, the Talukdars received him with great enthusiasm. When they were being introduced to His Highness by the Dewan Saheb, they spontaneously and of their own accord made the customary Nazar in token of Sovereignity to His Highness the Nawab Saheb. Thereafter Lt. Col. Williams and all the Talukdars were garlanded and attar, rose water was sprinkled by State Officials. After this His Highness graciously called each of the Talukdars by turn near him and conversed very cordially making sympathetic inquiries about them and their Talukas. The Talukdars freely and unreservedly gave expresions to their aspirations and difficulties which His Highness heard very sympathetically.

After this His Highness the Nawab Saheb accompanied by Lt. Col. Williams, the Talukdars, Dewan Saheb and other State Officials sat for a group photograph which was arranged in compliance with the Talukdars' request.

This photo and the movie films of the whole function which was also taken at the Talukdars' request will remain as an enduring proof of the keen desire evinced by these Talukdars as well as many others who can by any of the criteria laid down by the Government lay claim to attachment to Junagadh State and will also serve as an unchallengable and effective reply to those, who, due to some bias or other, have been circulating base and groundless rumours alleging apathy on the part of the Junagadh State on the one hand to take such Talukas under its fold and on the other hand the alleged unwillingness of these Talukdars to come under Junagadh.

After the group photo His Highness bade good-bye to all the Talukdars.

In their zeal to be attached to Junagadh State, these Talukdars requested that their attachment be completed and put into effect without any delay and if possible immediately. All the doubtful points having been settled, in deference to their wishes His Highness the Nawab Saheb and the Dewan Saheb com-

pleted and signed the instruments on the same day and the Talukdars' copies were handed over to them by Lt. Col. Williams on the next day.

For the entertainment of these Talukdars, sight seeing, cinema show etc. were arranged. One and all of them left Junagadh immensely pleased and gratified at the reception and entertainment accorded to them and the quick despatch with which the object for which they had come to Junagadh had all been settled and completed. Thus Junagadh State as benefitting the Premier State in Kathiawar has taken the lead in implementing the decision of His Excellency the Crown Representative for the attachment of minor Talukas to bigger States and made it a "fait accompli" quicker and sooner than any other State.

Princely Riches that Bewilder the World

(By ANUSUIYA PRASAD SAKSENA)

INDIA is a poor country. More than 90 percent of her people are scarcely clad and pass their lives in utter misery and virtual starvation. Yet, it is a fact that there is more of wealth in this country than any other of the world. A pretty large number of our Indian Princes are easily amongst the richest men of the world. Their wealth, their jewels, their precious robes are almost proverbial.

Amongst these Princes are H.E.H. the Nizam, the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharajas of Jaipur, Bundi, Ratlam, Patiala, Kapurthala Jammu, and Kashmir, Mysore, Orchha and Panna. Of these, the richest is H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad about whom John Gunther wrote in 'Inside Asia" that perhaps the Emperor of Japan might alone view with him in riches.

IMMENSE WEALTH

H. E. H. Sir Mir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur of Hyderabad has an approximate annual income of Rs. 150,000,000 or a little more than Rs. 30,00,000, a week. His personal fortune is estimated to be somewhere near 75,00,00,000 in gold and jewels alone. Two world famous diamonds-the Nizam and the Victoria diamonds weighing 277 and 177 carats respectively are in his possession. The latter he bought for Rs. 60,00,000. Some eighteen years back, it was reported that the Nizam by chance opened one of his treasure chambers where he found immense wealth of olden times. In it were hoarded costly Greek ornaments, Roman jewellery, Persian swords and carved Egyptian emeralds and turquoises.

Innumerable curious stories have become current about the Nizam's fabulous riches. I shall mention only three for the interest of the readers.

One says that there are six miles of secret underground vaults, where carts and lorries leaded with gold bars are kept. Only once a year these vehicles proceed to his gold mines where they are filled with gold bars each weighing 700 ounces.

Another points out that the Nizam has got his treasury safely locked up in some mysteries caves in some mountain where it is guarded by his trusted priests. Every prince of the family, when he comes of age, is entitled to take out from there as much as he can grasp at one time.

The third tells that there are secret chamber within his palace in which is hoarded his immense wealth. Secretly at night, the Nizam visits his treasury, counts his money and returns in the morning.

One of his sons, when he visited England where he is reported to have said that that if his father so wished he could pave the streets of London with pearls brought home only cigarette cases worth Rs. 4,50,000.

The Nizam treats his guests most graciously. Coaches of solid gold, with door handles sparkling with precious stones remain at the disposal of the guests. Furniture in the Guest House is also covered with gold and dinner is served in plates of pure gold.

However, the Nizam personally leads a very plain life. In his Silver Jubilee celebration he wore only a grey morning coat, a plain Fez and absolutely no jewels. Instead of a gorgeous jewel-decked elephant, he seated himself on his old gold plated Rolls Royce.

MAHARAJAS

After the Nizam, the Maharajas of Rajputana are most conspicuous for their wealth.

The Gaekwar of Baroda wears a turban with the famous jewel "Akbar Shah," weighing 71 carats, or the "Star of the South." weighing 125 carats, which he bought for Rs. 12,00,000. He also possesses the historic Empress Eugenie diamond, which once belonged to Catherine the Great of Russia and later passed on into the possession of Napolean III of France.

On ceremonial occasions the Maharaja of Jaipur wears a robe of black and gold with a head dress studded with diamonds, emaralds and pearls, costing more than a crore of rupees. Amongst his treasure is a coat of gold and silver and pearls priced at nearly Rs. 30,00,000. The Maharaja of Bundi's robe of State consists of a suit of fine muslin with a saffron turban and a waist cloth adorned with gold and gems and a sword of gold in a case set with precious stones.

The late Maharaja of Alwar, who created quite a sensation in Italy by ordering that the entire leather upholstery of his special train be replaced with cloth, used to wear a dress of mingled pink and gold under a rode of dark blue with gold medallions set with pearls.

PEARLS-THE SIZE OF A PIGEON EGG

In the Punjab, on State occasions, the Maharaja of Patiala wears his gorgeous pink peals each the size of a pigeon egg and which he bought for nearly Rs. 3,00,00,000.

He also possesses a robe of pearls that is valued at nearly Rs. 2,40,00,000, and a belt on whose buckle is set the largest emarald of the world. The Maharaja of Kapurthala possesses a collection of jewels valued at Rs. 3,00,00,000 which includes the

perfect of all gems, the "Sultan Diamond."

The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir has an annual income of Rs. 2,40,00,000, and a fine collection of jewels that contains a robe of priceless paragon pearls.

The Maharaja of Mysore is only second to Nizam in riches. Although always very plainly attired, his Kolar Gold Mines alone yield him an annual income of Rs. 4,80,00,000. Once in Austria, when he was surrounded by an admiring crowd of school children, he ordered the distribution of all the fruits of the biggest shop there amongst them.

£30,000 DINNER

Amongst the rulers in Central India, the Maharaja Orchha and Panna need special mention. On formal occasions, the former wears Bundalia dress of pink and gold and a turban sparkling with innumerable diamonds and other gems, and the latter a robe of velvet over primrose brocade, embroidered in pearls and diamonds, mined in his own State.

His Highness the Aga Khan, who is also amongst the richest men of the world, spent £30,000 in a single dinner, when he was slected President of the League of Nations.

Keonjhar State

A traveller finds it easy in all seasons to visit the state of Keonjhar, the capital town being accessible by bus service from Chaibasa and Jaipur Road on the Bengal Nagpur Railway. The State comprises an area of 3,217 square miles in respect of which it is the 5th largest in the Eastern States Agency and by its income occupies the 3rd place.

The history of Keonjhar State is rich and glorious. The commendable services rendered by the late Maharaja Gadadhar Narayan Bhanja, the great grandfather of the present ruler, to the British Government in 1858. A.D. in quelling the revolt of the Chhotanagpur sepoys, is a notable instance of the dynasty's loyalty to the Crown. In recognition of these services Gadadhar Narayan Bhanj Deo was decorated with the title of Maharaja and amount of tribute originally fixed by the East India Company for the State in 1805 was reduced by Rs. 1000. The nominal tribute of Rs. 1710-1-3 now paid by the State is only reminiscent of the loyal traditions of the ruling dynasty. Maharaja Dhanurjoy Narayan Bhanja Deo died in 1905 when he was succeeded by his son Gopinath Narayan Bhanj Deo, the father of the present ruler. The state had to pass under continued vicissitudes till at last it was released from Government management in 1929 in which year Raja Balabhadra Narayan Bhanj Deo, the present ruler, married the daughter of Raja of Kharswan. He was born in 1905 and succeeded his father in 1926. Besides looking into the details of administration Raja Balabhadra Narayan Bhanj Deo is well known in Orissa as a prince of highly religious temperament. He moves among his people like a commoner and loves the Bhuyans as his own children

At Suakati, a village in the Bhuyan Pidha, he has opened a residential school for the Bhuyan boys and girls to whom education was unknown and who cultivate by burning the jungles and paying no rent to the ruler. The residential school at Suakati is an ideal institution where the children are granted all expenses of education, both vocational and theoretical, including the cost of food and lodging. Besides, the parents of every student are granted a monthly allowance as reward for sending their boys and girls to the school For, the Bhuyans would not listen to any reason and regarded education always with an eye of suspicion. Besides the education of the Bhuyans, the state spends more than 60,000 a year on primary education. The Keonjhar High English School is a full-fledged and well-equipped School with hostels attached to it and only a nominal fee is being realised from the students There are 101 primary Schools in the State including 3 special Girls Schools although co-education is in vogue. The number of pupils reading in different schools comes to nearly 9000. Arrangement has been made to provide a special teacher to teach handicrafts and the school doctor moves about examining health of the students and giving lectures on hygiene.

The rural uplift work is noteworthy in the State and the Development Commissioner, the younger brother of the Raja, is to be congratulated for the many-sided improvements made in the different departments of the State including agriculture, medical, vaccination and the like. Besides being the ablest officer of the state Raj Kumar Lakshmi Narayan Bhanj Deo B. A, is a flower among the princely relations of India. A shrewd constitutional student he has a mastery over facts and is capable of understanding things to a degree scarcely to be met in the decorative and luxurious part of Indian life.

In a largely attended meeting of the State officers, Zamindars and the general public, Raja Balabhadra Narayan Bhanj Deo gave a detailed account of the efforts made by the State since the war began and said, "As soon as the war broke out I unreservedly placed my State at the disposal of His Majesty the King-Emperor. I have already donated a sum of Rs. 10,000 to the Orissa States Ambulance Corps Fund. I have also contributed a sum of Rs. 20,000 to H. E. the Viceroy's war Purposes Fund with a promise to contribute a sum of Rs. 10,000 a year till the duration of war. The State has contributed a sum of Rs. 1,000 to the St. John Ambulance Association Fund and Rs. 500 to St. Dunstan's Section of War Purposes Fund. Rs. 31,200 has already been invested in Defence of India Bonds by the State and the State officials. My officers and subjects have so far contributed a sum of Rs. 6,283 to the State War Purposes Fund. They have also contributed more than Rs. 4,000 to the Indian Red Cross Society and the St. Dunstan's Section of War Purposes Fund. Besides, the Rani Sahiba has donated a sum of Rs. 500 to H. E. the Viceroy's War Purpose Fund, Rs. 300 to Indian Red Cross Society, Rs. 200 to St. Dunstan's Fund. In view of the immense struggle ahead this is not sufficient and we should make greater efforts to help in successful prosecution of war and I expect from you all wholehearted co-operation and support."

The Rani Saheba too has played a very important role in the war efforts of Keonjhar. She started a Girl Guide War Purposes Fund for the Eastern States Agency to which she obtained full approval from Mrs. C. P. Hancock, Agency Commissioner. To start with she made a generous donation of Rs. 1001. She appealed to Maharani and Rani Sahebas of different States. Besides her donations to the maternity ward of the General Hospital which runs up to five figures she has earned the high reputation outside Keonjhar as a great patron of literature and art.

Keonjhar enjoys the blessings of having such a ruler with his consort and a younger brother and it hopes a good deal more from them. It has its rich mineral resources which could be explored for the benefit of the masses. Iron ores leased out to the Tatas and manganese ores to the big commercial concerns should also foretell further explorations accompanied by the upliftment of the toilers of the soil and hewers of wood.

Palitana State

THE administration report of the Palitana State for 1940-41 bears the impress of the powerful personality of H. H. Thakore Saheb who is a ruler of great eminence.

His Highness' administration of Palitana ever since he assumed full ruling powers has brought in its wake numerous progressive measures calculated to enhance the prosperity of the people entrusted to his care. The financial position of Palitana is extremely sound and this is eminently due to the prudential management of the state on economical lines without losing its efficiency. Since half the revenue of the state is from the land, the state takes particular interest in the welfare of the agriculturists. On critical occasions the state grants general remissions in land revenue. Grass is advanced from the state stocks generally at a rate cheaper than the market rate. No interest is charged in advance for seed grain and grass even if payment is delayed beyond a year. This system of Takavi in kind results to the cultivators in a considerable saving from the petty dealers' high rate of profit and interest. The state has got no natural advantage where rain water can be stored for agricultural purposes and hence the only supply for irrigated crops of wheat, sugarcane and chillies is from wells. In the famine years a well with a good water-supply is a boon to cultivators while in good years the water-level being very high the cultivated area of irrigated crops increases. Wells are always a mainstay of the agriculturists and the state gives encouragement for digging of new wells and in deepening the old ones. Dynamites are supplied to the cultivators at cost price for well-digging. No water rate is charged on wells dug and built by the occupant without state help but when a masonry well is built the cultivator gets 50% of the cost as free grant in aid. Ryots in Palitana state build their own wells borrowing money where necessary from the state as Takavi

repayable in due course. Further when repayment is made before the the ensuing year no interest is charged. On account of these liberal measures the ryots in Palitana are always happy and contented.

During the present rule education has made rapid strides in the state due to the liberal policy of the ruler whose desire is that every individual, male or female should be equipped with a liberal education. With this object in view a liberal sum spent annually by the state on education which is entirely free throughout Palitana in primary stage and a nominal fee of a few annas is charged from those students of the high classes who study English. The state schools are well attended. Besides this ample arrangements are made for providing higher and special training in useful subjects to those students who show special aptitude and nearly Rs. 1000 are spent annually in the shape of scholarship to state students studying in Indian and foreign universities for a large variety of subjects. Special facilities are provided for education of the sons of *Bhayats*. His Highness takes a keen personal interest in the health of the school boys and a point which will be noted with extreme satisfaction is that physical training in indigenous or foreign games is compulsory for older students. The ruler personally supervises the games and *akhara* in case of the students of the high classes. Boy Scout movement has made good progress in the state and its correct spirit has been grasped to a large extent.

In order that the people may have a voice in the administration of the state His Highness has inaugurated a body composed of 20 elected and 20 nominated members called Praja Pratinidhi which meets often in a year. With the advantage of a compact state the ruler is able to revel in his luxury of work and willingness to help. He visits villages during his morning rides or motor drives when his subjects come constantly in touch with him. He hears petitioners personally and all have an easy access to him. His Highness' suavity and patience have no barrier of reserve or restraint between the ruler and the ruled. The daily programme of His Highness is this: A morning ride, a cup of cold coffee, lunch at 12, *seishta*, office at two when papers are ready for him and work in the office till the current papers are disposed of. It may be till 5, it may be later; not by the clock but by the work are the royal office hours guided at Palitana. If office closes early then a little tennis or other outdoor games.

His Highness never considers his state as his private property and firmly believes that it is in the nature of a trust property entrusted to him by God to administer it in the interests of the people who are left to his care. Never a rupee is wasted on his own self, but there is always abundance to spare for the distressed and the deserving not only in his state but also outside Politana.

Like his royal master, Kumar Shri Mulrajsinghji, Dewan of Palitana is deeply interested in the welfare and progress of the state and is successfully discharging the extraordinarliy varied and onerous duties entrusted to him by the enlightened ruler. With a firm foothold Palitana state is marching on the path of progress and the credit goes to the enlightened ruler and his able dewan.

Hon'ble Maharajah of Parlakimedi

Prime Minister, Government of Orissa

(A PEN SKETCH)

THE Hon'ble Maharajah of Parlakimedi, ever since he became the Prime Minister of the Government of Orissa, has been rendering unique services to the Orissa public. His latest achievement lies in getting the Orissa University Bill passed in the Orissa Assembly and the Hon'ble Prime Minister's name will ever be remembered in this respect. Very rightly several members of the Assembly paid fitting tributes to the Hon'ble Prime Minister to his contribution in having a University in the Province of Orissa. A few misguided members of the opposition exerted their utmost to torpedo the bill, but the bill was triumphantly passed by a very huge majority. As the Prime Minister he has proved a very great success. Despite the obstructive and frivolous tactics of a handful of members belonging to the opposition, he is carrying on his task with sincerity of purpose and honest of motives. When the history of India comes to be written by a future historian the part played by the Hon'ble Maharajah of Parlakimedi as Prime Minister of Orissa will occupy a brilliant chapter in it. A short sketch of his career, will, we are sure be read with interest by our readers.

Captain Maharajah Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapathi Narayan Deo, Maharajah of Parlakimedi was born on the 26th April 1892. He received his early education both at the Maharajah's College, Parlakimedi and Newington College, Madras. Even in his collegiate course he showed remarkable promise of his future greatness. The Maharaja started his public life at an early age. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture; a delegate to the First R. T. C.; an Associate member of the Orissa Boundary Committee and was selected in 1933 as a representative of the All-India Landholders' Association to give evidence before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee in London. He is an Honorary Adviser and Visitor to the Agricultural College, Coimbatore. He has been taking a prominent part in commercial and industrial advancement and owns a railway line of 59 miles. He maintains a salt factory at Pundi measuring 300 acres and owns a big rice mill, a first-grade college and Sanskrit College, three big girls' schools for Oriyas and Telegus, an Agricultural Demonstration Farm and Veterinary Hospital.

His charities are numerous. No aristocrat in the Province of Orissa has contributed so liberally to deserving causes as the Maharajah Bahadur. He contributed a princely sum of Rs. 1 lakh to the Research Institute, Coonoor and Rs. 20,000 to Post-Graduates for Research Work in food and commercial crops at Coimbatore Government College of Agriculture. He contributed Rs. 50 towards the purchase of Cups for South Indian Lawn Tennis Championships held at Coonoor, Rs. 300, to the Landholders' Association, Madras, Rs. 250 to Dr. C. R. Reddy's Commemoration Fund

Rs. 2,000 in connection with the Viceroy's visit to Vizagapatam. All deserving causes find in him a most generous patron.

The Maharajah Bahadur is the Leader of the National War Front, Orissa and in this field of activity he is serving his Province with glory and distinction. As a loyal and patriotic nobleman he has contributed handsomely to the various war funds. During the last war he subscribed Rs. 3,10,000 towards war loans and funds and recruited men both for combatant and non-combatant forces. During the present war he has contributed Rs. 1 lakh towards war funds in addition to rendering help in recruiting, including £5000 (Rs. 66,666-11-0) to the Orissa War Fund for the purchase of a Fighter Plane. All the subordinates of the Samasthanam following the noble example of their Maharajah are contributing their mite to the war funds. The Maharajah Bahadur sent £10 to Earl Haig's British Legion. Richmond for ex-servicemen of all ranks, all services and all wars, their dependents and the widows and children of the fallen. Under the auspices of the Maharajah Bahadur numerous dramas were enacted to help Red Cross funds. He made a generous gift of an ambulance unit worth Rs. 3,500 to the Madras Ambulance Fund for despatch overseas on active service for use of Indian or British troops. He also contributed Rs. 24,000 to H. E. the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. No other aristocrat in the Province of Orissa has rendered such unique services to the British Government at this time of war as the Maharajah of Parlakimedi.

Ever since he assumed the administration of his Samasthanam he has been doing immense good to enhance the progress, prosperity and happiness of the people of the Samasthanam. A gentleman of brilliant parts, he is a sportsman, a publicman and a distinguished scholar and a politician. His Extentive travels have enabled him to conduct the administration of his Samasthanam on highly progressive and sound lines.

As the Prime Minister of Orissa he has brought distinction to the high office he holds. Even people who hold diametrically opposite political views will bear eloquent testimony to the Maharajah Bahadur's striking genius and sincerity of purpose. He has the grit, tenacity of purpose and high intellectual attainments and these stand him in good stead in rendering unique services to his Province. Though an aristocrat he is a great friend of the poor and it is no wonder that the Ministry, under his able lead, has done much to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. There are a few warring elements in the opposition group who out of disappointment are carrying on an unwholesome crusade against the Ministry and though their activities constitude a serious menace to the orderly progress of the Province their voiceis relegated to the background. The Parlakimedi Ministry, under the able lead of the Maharajah Bahadur, is working like a team and has won laurels which no other Ministry has done. Many who doubted the wisdom of the formation of the Parlakimedi Ministry when it was formed have come to realise its usefulness and utility.

We congratulate the Maharajah Bahadur on his excellent and notable record of work as the Prime Minister of Orissa.

TUNISIA DAY IN BARODA

Shrimant B. A. Gaekwar, Senior Member of the Council, Baroda garlanded after he had received the salute of the State Forces and Boys Scouts, A. R. P. Workers. He is seen sitting in a pandal specially erected for the purpose.

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印度

一千九百四十六年
二月一日
第三卷
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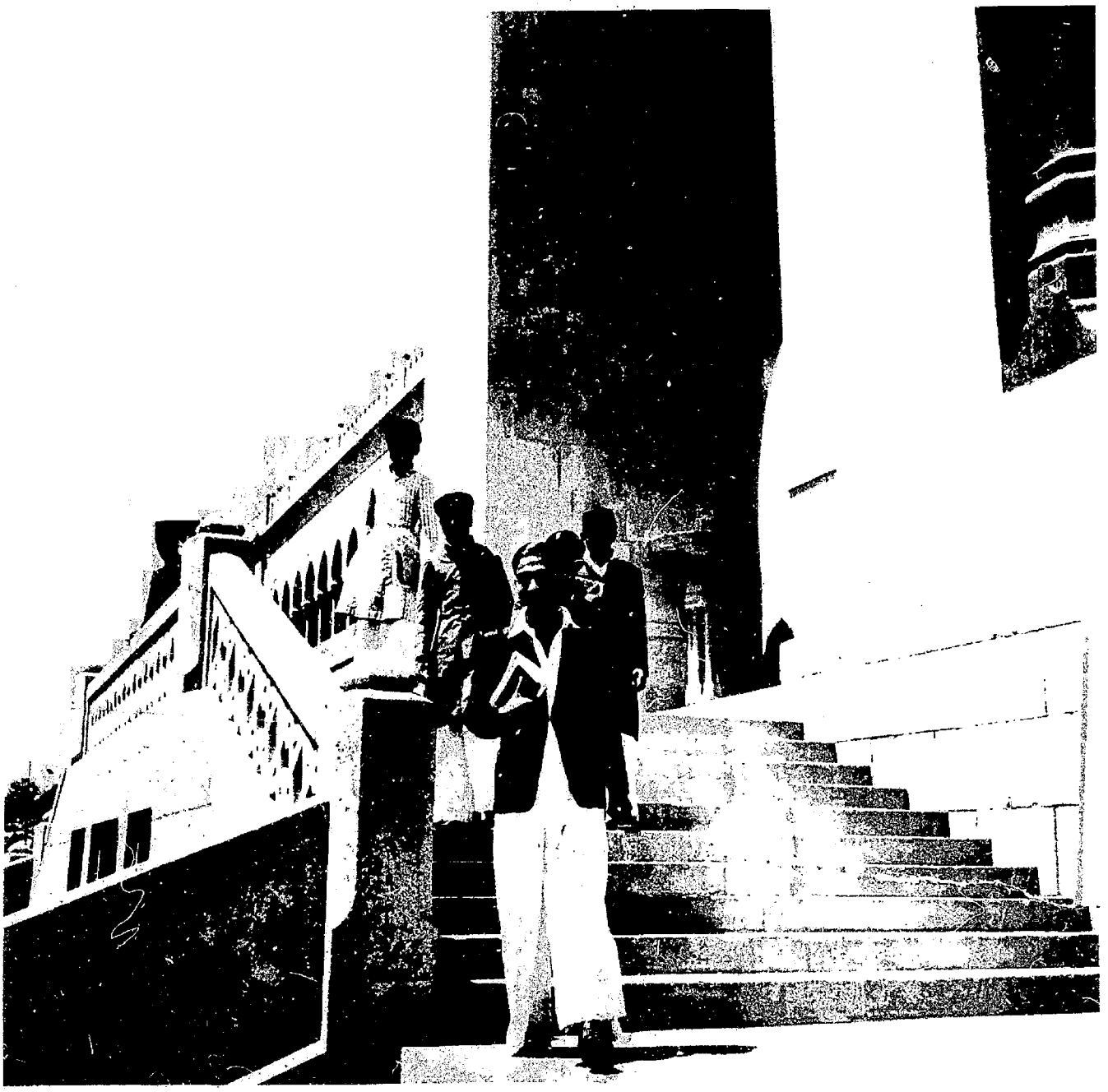

YOUTH : The youth of India is its future. The picture shows some students of the Osmania University of Hyderabad Deccan, leaving the buildings after lectures. After many experiments it has been proved that an indigenous medium of instruction is the best. The students of Osmania University are taught in Urdu and they are able to express themselves more fully and originally then those who have to do so through an unfamiliar language.

The new India will not only provide academic but also technical education. What is really essential is keenness and that Indian youth certainly has, whether it is in politics or welfare work in the villages. The Osmania University like other Indian Universities is endeavouring to provide a home of learning which is truly Indian in character and where Indian youth will grow naturally in native environments. The residential university developes a corporate spirit and engenders social activities which will bring forth the essential material for the India of tomorrow.

印度之將來全賴其青年故印度人士之有識者對於青年之教育異常關切圖示印度奧斯瑪尼亞大學之校舍及學生數人經多年之試驗証明利用本國語言授課遠較借助於某陌生語言便利多多其所用之語言乃印度之烏都語故學生能完全領悟各教授之講解並能清楚表達自己之意思

新印度青年所需要者除各種學術外並需要技術教育而其最重要者乃印度青年對於事事之熱心該大學一如全印度之其他各大學正在努力使該校學生讀書之環境本國化而不受泊來之惡習所感染且該校乃一寄宿學校學生朝夕共聚一堂以養成其團結及服務社會之精神裨有助於新印度之前途

INDIA

FEBRUARY, 1946

No 2 Vol. III

MARRIAGE AMONG HINDUS

by S. V. SIDDHARTHACHARRY

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA, a religious thinker of the last century, said that Hinduism was the nearest to being a universal religion. It is the simplest religion to follow and also the most difficult to practise perfectly: it is most generous to the not-so-religious, most exacting to the truly pious. The Hindu Society has therefore recognized that man and woman can become husband and wife not merely through one set of ceremonies. Seizure, choice by the girl, mutual assent, purchase, wed-lock after orthodox ceremonies in which fire, priest and parents enact a complex ritual, are recognized, all of them, as various forms of marriage. But it has deemed only that form wherein passions and desires are subordinated to *Dharma*, or duty, as worthy of the thoughtful and the pure To the true Hindu, marriage is an impersonal affair, not a question of obtaining a licence for the fulfilment of desires but the door-way to Householder's life, the second stage during a Hindu's brief journey in the world His duty is thereafter to support society and himself, perform his duties by his neighbours, the Gods and the dead with the help of his female partner and to provide with her aid someone to replace him when he is past being useful.

Except among the very few ultra-modern young, marriages of love, compacts by mutual consent regardless of caste, are rare Infatuation does not precede marriage among Hindus Indeed such infatuation is mental lack of balance and is, therefore, condemned along with Admiration, Lust, Anger, Greed and such "deadly sins" A Hindu is expected to regard his marriage day not as the day of the consummation of his desires, nor yet as an occasion of rejoicing, but as the beginning of a new life. The joyous festival of a Hindu marriage, its mirth and merriment, spring not from the bridegroom and the bride, but from their cousins and sisters and aunts and the host of minor relatives who have made of this wedding a reunion In their two hearts there only lurk curiosity and hope. It is true that now-a-days the young people know of each other, have probably seen each other and possibly have even spoken together. But their is not that period of courtship there are not the attempts and failures, the pangs and hopes that precede the usual western consummation The Hindu bride is usually only about 16 years of age and boys are from four to ten years older so that there cannot be that common plane of animal passion.

The young Hindu leaves it to his parents to choose for him a suitable companion from his own caste for the purpose of Living. They enquire into likely families, they see that the girl is healthy, that there is no hereditary disease. They also consult the astrologers and see if the horoscopes tally. One means of starting marriage negotiations is to ask for the horoscope of the boy or girl who is desired in marriage. When the two families "are willing," the boy meets the girl However, it is possible and indeed frequent for two or more negotiations to be carried on simultaneously for one boy or girl. After the boy meets the girl and their consents are given, a formal request is made by the boy's mother who goes to the girl's house with presents for the girl. The astrologers name auspicious days of marriage after consulting both horoscopes. The most convenient day is chosen and the bridegroom's party occupies a house near the bride's made ready for them by the bride's parents The main door-way and the gate-way have been decorated with plantain trees and mango leaves The threshold has been beautified with designs in white flour and in colours On the evening before the marriage the bridegroom is taken to a temple and is there laden with presents which are usually costly garments He proceeds to the bride's house and is greeted by the bride's mother and father Presents are given to the bride by the bridegroom's mother and after changing into the saree with which she has been presented the bride reenters her house and the bridegroom and his party is escorted to theirs

(*continued on page 14*)

ON OTHER PAGES

The Indian Scripts — II ...	4
Sir Mirza Ismail ...	6
Ayurveda	7
Ivory Carving	8
Hyderabad State	10
The Travels of Fa-Hien (Bi-lingual) — Chapter XX	11
The Woollen Industry ...	12

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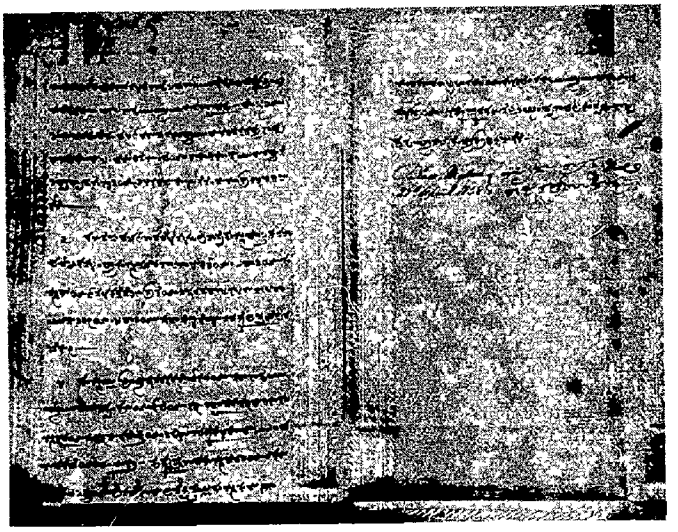
COVER PICTURE—A Buddhist Statue in the caves of Ellora in the north of Hyderabad State.

THE INDIAN SCRIPTS—II

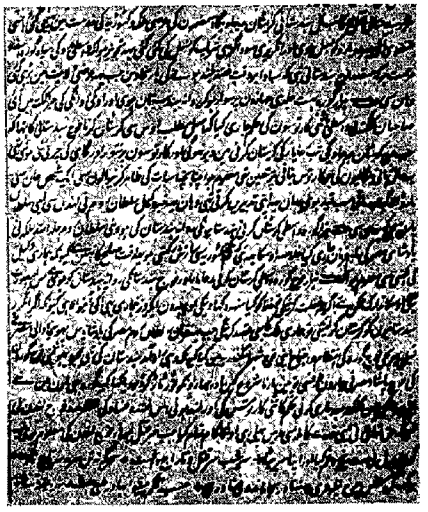
by P. N. BANERJEE

THE second category of Indian scripts comprises the four South-Indian scripts used in writing ***Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese*** and ***Malayalam***. Tamil is used in the south of the Madras Presidency and the north of Ceylon. It has a very ancient and rich literature and is spoken by about 20 million people. ***Telugu***, a musical language strongly influenced by Sanskrit, prevails in the north of the Madras Presidency along the East Coast, as also in the Indian State of Hyderabad. The number of its speakers is about 24 millions. ***Kanarese*** is the language of about ten million people most of whom inhabit the progressive Indian State of Mysore. ***Malayalam*** is spoken by about 7 million people in the south-west of the Madras Presidency.



A State letter in Kannada. The border design is in gold.

All the scripts coming under the two categories mentioned above have a fixed number of letters ranging between 48 and 52. These are arranged in a systematic manner on a scientific basis. First come the vowels disposed in 2 groups, one representing the short and the other the long ones. These are a, á, i, í, u, ú, r, ṛ, l, e, ai, o, au. The stroke above the letters indicates that they are long. Then come the consonants divided broadly into 5 groups of 5 letters each, namely, (1) ***gutturals*** or sounds produced in the throat, such as, k, kh, g, gh, n; (2) ***palatals*** or sounds produced by pressing the tongue against the hard palate, such as, ch, chh, j, jh, n; (3) ***cerebrals*** or sounds made by pressing the tip of the tongue against the top of the palate, such as, t, th, d, dh, n (4) ***dentals*** or sounds made by pressing the tongue-tip against the teeth, such as, t, th, d, dh, n; and (5) ***labials*** or sounds in which the lips play the most prominent part, such as p, ph, b, bh, m. These five groups are followed by the so-called ***liquids*** or clearly flowing letters, as r, l, the ***spirants*** or hissing letters as s, sh, and sh and the semi-vowels y and v.



Urdu.

The third group includes ***Urdu, Pashto*** and ***Sindhi*** all of which are derivatives and modifications of the Perso-Arabic script and are written from right to left, contrary to the purely Indian scripts which, like English and the Euro-American alphabets, are written from left to right.

There are 36 letters in the Urdu, 40 in the ***Pashto*** and 52 in the Sindhi alphabet. In none of these scripts are the letters arranged in their natural sequence as in ***Nagari*** and the parallel alphabets used in the rest of India. The arrangement is, more or less, haphazard, the vowels and consonants of different sound groups jostling with one another. Moreover, they suffer from

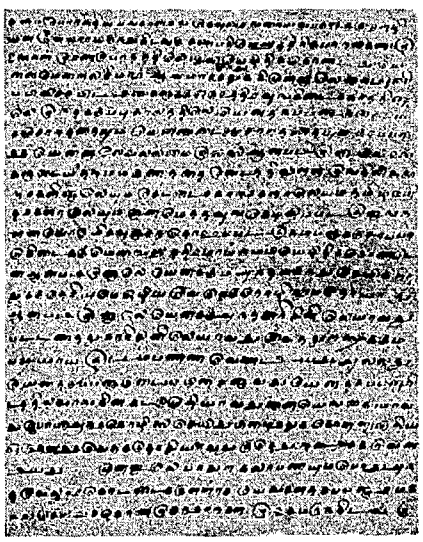
an inherent defect, namely lack of a proper representation of the short vowels. Although there exist what are called diacritical marks to indicate the short vowels, they are more honoured in the breach than in the observance. The result is that manuscripts often offer stumbling-blocks even to those who are 'to the manner born'.

The Urdu script is widely employed in Upper India and by the Moslem majority in the State of Kashmir in the North-West. It is also used in the Indian State of Bhopal in Central India and in official documents in Hyderabad State in the Deccan. Besides being used by Moslems all over India whose mother-tongue is Urdu, a form of Hindi with a large admixture of Perso-Arabic words, it is also used by quite a large number of Hindus in Upper India and the Punjab.

The Pashto script is confined to the North-West Frontier Province, the land of the warlike Pathans.

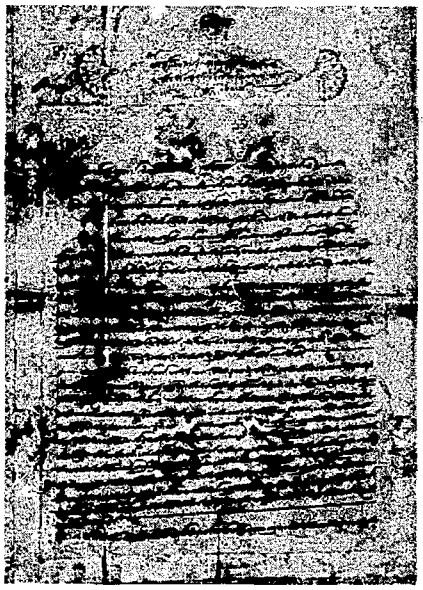
Sindhi, as the name indicates, is used in the Province of Sind in the west of India.

Besides the scripts enumerated above. the Roman alphabet, in a modified form, is employed by the Christian missionaries in writing the many backward,



Tamil.

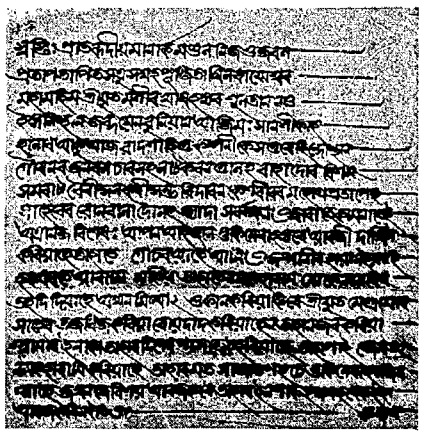
undeveloped languages which have no script of their own. It is also used in the Indian Army for writing Urdu and goes by the name of Roman-Urdu. In this connection it is interesting to note that the canonical books of Buddhists of the *Hina Yana* or Lesser Vehicle school which are in Pali are now generally written



Another State letter in Kannada.

in Roman characters. Of late, the question of adopting a common script for all the languages of India has been mooted by some advanced political and social thinkers, and the idea of adopting a modified form of the Roman script has found some favour in some quarters.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that the Indian system of writing has travelled beyond Indian frontiers and it is to be found to-day in Ceylon, Burma and Tibet. The *On mun* alphabet of Korea is also said to be based on the Indian system.



Bengali.

Pen Portraits

SIR MIRZA M. ISMAIL

by

RAGHAVAN

IT is said of Sir Mirza Ismail that he always takes an engineer and an architect with him whenever he goes on tour. He is an impressive builder. He is an artist turned administrator. As Dewan (Premier) of Mysore, which is regarded as a model State, he proved that he was a statesman and administrator of a high order who had the ability to give concrete shape to his ideas and put them to test in everyday life. Caste, creed or colour have never influenced him or his decisions: although he moved in aristocratic circles, he showed by his actions that he was a citizen of the world. When Gandhiji visited Mysore soon after Sir Mirza became its Dewan he paid an admiring tribute to that State and said that it bore a close resemblance to the old ideals of good administration. To Sir Mirza belongs the credit of helping to transform Mysore into a model state by carrying out the projects of his foreseeing predecessors and by embarking on fruitful schemes.

His urge to build may perhaps be traced to his Persian descent. Born in 1883, even as a boy he was chosen to work as a student with the Maharaja. After graduating, he entered the Civil Service of the State and within three years was taken on the personal staff of the Maharaja. His ability in handling men made such an impression that he very soon became the Private Secretary. The fulfilment came when he became the Dewan in 1926. In Sir Mirza the Maharaja found a bosom friend and a Prime Minister whose ideals corresponded closely to his own. Devoted to the interests of the State and the larger interests of India, Sir Mirza was a tireless worker. Thus Prince and Dewan worked together in complete accord and created a State whose administration became the envy of Indian States and their model. The Prince was an orthodox Hindu and the Dewan was a cultured Mussalman. It was a noble combination, full of meaning for the future of India.

During his rigime, Mysore was transformed beyond recognition. Never before had there been such tremendous building activity as during this period of fifteen years when huge edifices were erected to house public institutions, and scores of bridges, roads and irrigation works were completed. If politics had not claimed Sir Mirza he would most probably have served the country as a great architect and master builder. The genius of Sir Mirza will become abundantly clear to any one who has paid a visit to the famous garden cities of Mysore and Bangalore. After touring the State a visitor from the West recently said: "On all sides one must be impressed by the varied and symmetrical developments in the industrial life, in financial affairs, in commercial relations, in social uplift, in educational progress, in cultural and artistic developments, in the humanitarian and religious welfare of the people." Sir Mirza's talent lay in choosing his helpers, in recognizing the greatness of the plans of those who went before him and in making the most of all the resources at his hand. He publicized his government's achievements effectively and spotlighted their educative value. He was one of the first to realise the importance of the industry of tourism and develop it along healthy lines.

Sir Mirza is a staunch advocate of industrialization. He believes in the economic rehabilitation of the country by harnessing the natural resources. Inspired by the ideal of State Socialism, he nursed Mysore into a busy work-shop. Heavy industries, medium industries, small industries, cottage industries—all received his equal attention. The last project which he put through as Dewan of Mysore was the establishment of an aircraft factory.

A man of wonderful versatility, in every field of human activity he has something useful and original to contribute. He has a personal charm and human touch which have won him universal popularity alike among the rich and the poor and his genius for friendship can rarely be equalled. He is nature's own diplomat.

In 1942, he accepted the premiership of Jaipur, one of the most important States in North India, and during the short period of his regime he has already achieved in Jaipur more than had been achieved during the previous twenty years.

AYURVEDA

by **INDICUS**

THE Hindu system of Medicine is known as Ayurveda—the *Veda* (Science) of *Ayus* (Life). Dating back to before the birth of Buddha (563 B.C.) it has catered to the physical ills of the majority of Indians ever since. Ayurveda has been called "the empirical system of Herbal treatment," but it has been much more than that: observation, experimental research and intuition form the pillars of Ayurveda.

Ayurveda pioneered far into the secrets of the bodies of men and beasts. There was no inhibition against dissection among the Indian medical men two thousand years ago, although, in 1827, a hue and cry hailed the opening of the Calcutta Government College of Western Medicine. For some time the study of Ayurveda decayed and tradition was blindly followed; development ceased and the science became stagnant after having achieved far more than any other contemporary medical system. Whereas Harvey in England discovered the system of blood circulation only about 3½ centuries ago, the *Charaka Samhita* had referred to it centuries earlier: "From that great centre," it says, referring to the heart, "emanate the vessels carrying blood into all the parts of the body, the element which nourishes the life of all animals and without which life would be extinct. It is the element which goes to nourish the foetus in utero and which flowing into its body returns to the mother's heart." Dissection having been practised, the perfection of surgical instruments followed naturally. The *Simhamukha* (lion-faced) forceps is used with practically no alteration in design by the practitioners of western medicine and is called the Lion forceps.

TIBBIA COLLEGE DELHI—Both Unani and Ayurveda, the Muslim and Hindu systems of medicine are taught here.

Diagnosis was achieved by questioning the patient and an examination. Details about the sick man's relatives and parents and any family weaknesses were noted down. The examination consisted of, among other things, auscultation and feeling of the pulse. In the latter especially Ayurvedic doctors possess an almost uncanny second sight.

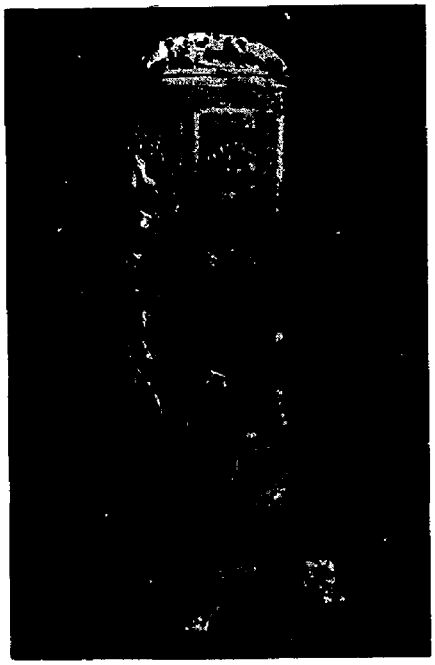
The study of the human body is divided into an examination of the nervous, the alimentary and the respiratory systems known as *Vayu*, *Pittha*, and *Kapha* which have been inaccurately likened to the "Wind," "Bile" and "Phlegm" of the doctors of Mediaeval Europe. Actually the Ayurvedic is not the humoral theory. There were 8 specialised sections—Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery, Treatment of the Eye, Nose, Throat and Ear, Psychotherapy, Pediatrics, Toxicology, Restoration of health in old age and Sexual rejuvenation. Ayurveda was not, then, the art of the medicine-man. It was a highly scientific study and ancient exponents of Ayurveda have left great medical works. Of about 60 such works the most famous are the *Susruta* and the *Charaka Samhitas*. Charaka is the greatest name in Ayurveda.

Most of the Ayurvedic remedies come from the plant world; but there were also the *Rasa Vaidyas*, the Chemist-physicians of the post-Buddhistic period, who were, as it were, the fathers of modern chemistry. While Ayurveda gave to Europe through Arabia its system of medicine, the use of chemicals and metals was a practice to some extent imported from the Greeks. But it was not much favoured as it was felt

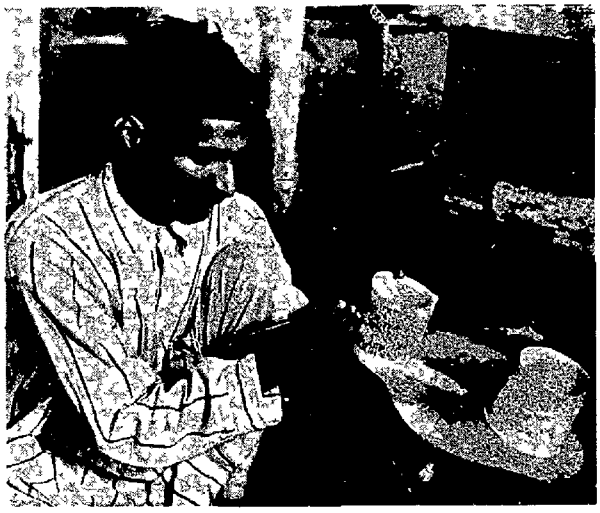
(continued on page 14)

印度之象牙彫刻

印度之象牙彫刻術由來已久惟緣起於何代雖無籍可考但第八世紀之象牙棋子前曾被發現於印度之西部或正因其久為世人所習見故象牙彫刻僅有時附載於有關考通彫刻藝術之史籍中而無專門之記載是以第八世紀以前印度象牙彫刻之情況則無從得知此外早年歐西航海東來人士之遊記中亦常有關於印度象牙彫刻物品之如何盛行及如何精美之記錄惟彼時最為世人所稱者乃用象牙所彫成之屏風現存有籍可考之最古象牙彫刻作品乃一千五百八十年代彫於印度之南部者



圖中所示之容器乃用一整段象牙所彫成者其花紋極優美彫工極精細須費熟練匠人之數年精力方可彫成但其市價不過三千印幣



圖示正在工作中之一彫刻匠人其彫刻之件雖精緻可愛但其所用之工具則極簡單

印度之象牙彫刻業多為家傳之事業其技藝之精莫多隨其工作之經驗而並進初入門之學徒僅作研磨及砑磨等次要工作繼則彫刻簡單之物品如手鐲項串等至於人物鳥獸諸形体彫刻則為彫刻匠人之專能其所用之工具異常簡單刀鑽銼鑿及鋸等件乃印度象牙彫刻匠人所僅有之工具雖然有史以來美術匠人之偉大創作多借助於極簡單之工具

象牙之為物其顏色潔白而適於精細之彫刻者甚不多見是以象牙彫刻之精美者其價甚昂倘象牙之品質欠佳則其性脆極易折損故不適用於精細之彫刻而僅適於彫作粗拙之物品印度本地所產之象牙其品質遠不如非洲產者為佳且經專家之研究家中所畜之馴象其牙中含鹽質過多故其性脆而易於折斷是以遠不如野象牙之價值故欲得精緻優美之象牙彫刻勢必求之於非洲產之野象牙此外印度象牙之顏色微黃而不及非洲象牙之潔白可愛

象牙彫刻業因受兩種贋品之影响而日就不振其一為獸骨另一為獸牙惟此種贋品一經浸油即變黃色故易辨識由西伯利亞所輸入之假象牙乃有史以前巨獸所遺之骨及牙因久為冰雪所掩蓋故至今未拆此種假象牙極易於彫刻且較真象牙為潤滑多用作刀子匕首鏡子及刷子之握柄惟因此種獸骨及獸牙既易於獲得又易於彫刻故使真象牙彫刻業家受致命之打擊各大都會街旁小販兜售之象牙贋品使易於受騙而愛好象牙之顧主漸漸失去對於象牙之好感

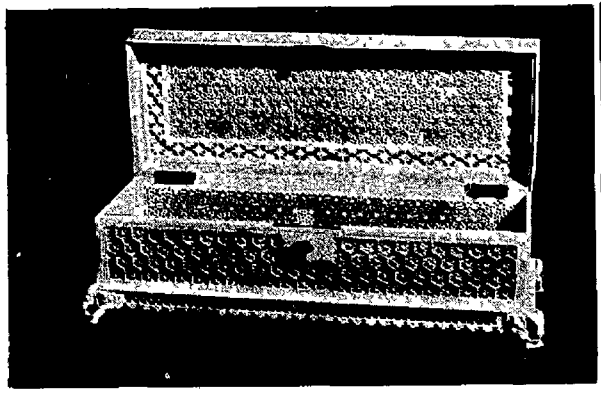
以象牙彫刻業著名之印度城市有阿木里查耳德里木耳什達巴德帕里巴拉特甫耳維雜巴帕塔木邁索爾及特里萬德實太等惟印度北部之象

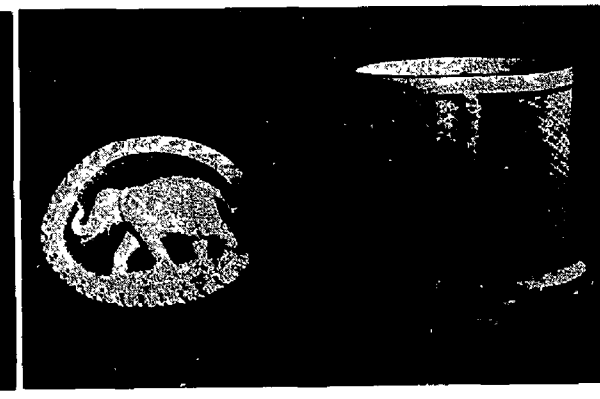
牙雕刻品多為透雕及鑲嵌作品故德里及帕里二城中有用象牙雕成之阿格拉回王墓內大理石透雕屏風及窗花之模型德里雖不精於人物鳥獸之雕刻但擅長於一種在象牙上之繪畫術蓋因莫卧兒王朝名畫家之傑作一時多畫於象牙上之影响所致南印度之維魯馬帕塔木地方擅長在檀香木獸角及龜殼上用象牙鑲飾花紋之[illegible]賈爾地方擅長於在烏木花梨木及檀香木製之傢具上用象牙鑲嵌圖案之技印度西南端之特拉萬扣爾地方所雕刻之神佛人物鳥獸車輛房屋等作品冠於全印他如尼泊爾及喀什米爾兩地方之象牙雕刻亦甚有名且喀什米爾亦盛行用象牙鑲飾之傢具惟尼泊爾之象牙人物雕刻[illegible]頗富中國作風蓋因受其文化之影响所致此外另有一種用不同顏色之泰繪圖案畫之術流行於印度各地惟所用之漆色因地而異例如印度北部喜用黑漆但帕里則綠淺紅及黑色兼用其法先在象牙上雕刻圖案畫之溝紋然後將熔化之漆注於其上再將[illegible]用薄刀刮去即成

吾人如畧事注意[illegible]牙雕刻匠人之生活狀況以其祖傳之絕技勤奮之工作月得[illegible]三四十卢比而製造象牙贋品之工人月得可[illegible]四倍之故象[illegible]刻業[illegible]所以未完全吧跡於印度者實因該業乃世代家傳之專業[illegible]如不[illegible]獎勸之則此一印度民族藝術勢將歸於[illegible]消滅[illegible]蓋象牙之為物除其價值昂貴外其雕刻匠人尤須有絕大之忍耐力並祖傳之技巧故其雕刻成品非普通顧客所敢問津[illegible]以其訂購[illegible]顧客於印度各地各部落之酋長外則為歐美愛好美術之人士至於象牙雕刻物品之所以如此昂貴之原因普通為外界人士所不悉除象牙之價值昂貴外尚有如下諸端象牙本身非為永久不变之物質日久則其色漸黃故須數年時間方能雕刻完成之件其象牙之品質可能在雕刻期間日漸变劣而貶其值且雕刻時倘如匠人偶一不慎可能使整件象牙化為廢物待雕刻完成後陳列待估之期間可能受氣候之影响而变色更可能受社會經濟情況之变化而廉其值諸如此類冒險性之條件使象牙雕刻成品之價值難免有時似乎過於誇張之處雖然如此擁有絕技之雕刻象牙匠人所得實惠仍異常微乎其微因此欲防止象牙雕刻業之日就没落則請老即將死亡匠人之問題頗值社會人士之格外注意

圖中乃正在雕刻一珠寶盒蓋之老年匠人其雕刻之技巧純由經[illegible]累月耐心工作中得來其旁乃一學徒僅能作次要或磨磨等工作

(Adapted and Translated from an article by B. S Keshavan and Maghrub Ahmad.)





象牙雕刻之工作有時極冗繁如左圖中之象牙珠寶盒雕工精緻圖案優雅必經匠人之數年雕工方可畢事惟匠人多無財力以維持如此久長之生活故同時又須雕刻較小之件如右圖所示之小盒及其蓋俾隨時出售以延續其清苦之生命

HYDERABAD

by **MOHD. ASLAM**

IF a traveller from China were to visit India, he would find a harmonious blending of the ancient and the modern in Hyderabad, the premier Indian State, which lies in the heart of India. It is the meeting-place of almost all the races, languages and religions of India. Once the distinguished Chinese scholar and traveller, Hiuen Tsang, visited this region and was profoundly impressed by its art, architecture and system of administration.

A large part of Hyderabad is a low plateau of an average height of 1250 feet above sea level. It is divided into two regions, the eastern and the western, which also form its two natural geographical divisions. The climate of Hyderabad is equable and pleasant for the greater part of the year, the mean temperature being 890. Its forest areas offer picturesque scenery, big-game hunting, and valuable products for industry.

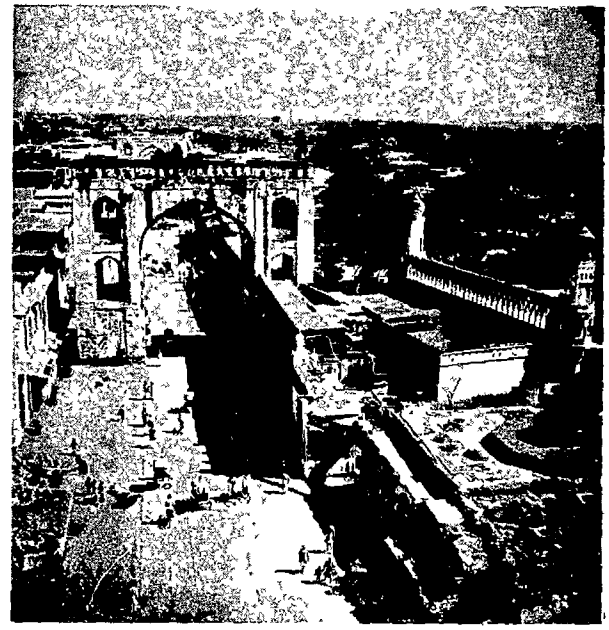
Hyderabad is rich in mineral resources; among these, coal is the most important. Once Hyderabad was famous for its diamonds, but now few layers of these diamonds can be found. The larger industries are the cement, tobacco, sugar and paper. There are also weaving, ginning and pressing mills, cigarette factories, textile mills, button factories, matches, rice and oil mills. Hyderabad is also noted for its fine workmanship in silver work, gold lacework, carpets and toys.

Agriculture is, however, the main occupation of the people The principal crops are rice, millets, cotton and oil seeds. Hyderabad grows the finest quality of indigenous cotton. Modern methods of cultivation have been brought home to the peasant by demonstrations. Comprehensive schemes of rural uplift are being carried out by improved methods of cultivation and cattle-breeding, and by encouraging cottage industries and rural education.

Hyderabad owns the largest railway system amongst the Indian States. The State railways are connected with the adjoining railways at five junctions, thus affording excellent opportunities for the import and export trade. The State has a good road system. The co-ordination of the rail and road transport, achieved by the opening of a large number of out-agencies, is responsible for cheap and better means of transport, and for widening the scope of trade and traffic. The recent establishment of an air transport service is a further development in the co-ordination of all forms of transport in the State.

Pioneering efforts to reform the educational system have been made in Hyderabad. The Osmania University, established in 1918, is the first attempt to impart modern university education through an Indian language. It provides education in Arts, Science, Law, Engineering, Medicine and Theology. There is a bureau for translating and compiling suitable text-books for the University courses This has greatly enriched Urdu, the medium of instruction, and also the official language of the State.

Hyderabad has been ruled by a Muslim dynasty for the last two centuries. Its founder, Asaf Jah, was the Governor of Deccan in the reign of Aurungzeb, the last great Mughal Emperor of India. After the downfall of the Mughal Empire, Asaf Jah established himself as an independent ruler, called the Nizam; the present Nizam is reputed to be the richest man in the world, although he lives a very simple, almost austere life.



Hyderabad City.

The administration of Hyderabad is similar to that of British India. The Nizam is the supreme head of the State He is assisted by an Executive Council, consisting of a President and seven Members. There is a Legislative Council with a majority of elected members. The local self-government is carried on by a number of municipalities. Special care is taken to ensure adequate representation of the agricultural population on these bodies.

Hyderabad is going ahead with its post-war plans which aim at raising the general standard of living. A 15-year plan, estimated to cost 3,500 million rupees, has been formulated. Some of the outstanding items included in the plan are agriculture, irrigation, industry, education, public health, communications, and resettlement of ex-soldiers.

The State abounds in places of historical interest. Of these, the cave temples at Ellora, and Ajanta are well-known. The temples and monasteries at Ellora, which are fashioned out of the solid rock, represent a fine specimen of the ancient architectural remains of India, while the paintings at Ajanta still evoke the same admiration as they did centuries ago. They represent a remarkable combination of architecture, sculpture and painting, and illustrate the development of Buddhist art from the first century B.C. to the middle of the seventh century A.D.

HYDERABAD:

Area:	82,698 sq. miles.
Population:	12,753,313. Hindus 89%; Mohammedans 9%; Others 2%.
Language:	Telugu, Mahratti, Hindi, Kanarese and Urdu.
State Capital:	HYDERABAD: Population: 728,400

Travels of Fa-Hien

CHAPTER XX.—(Continued)

NAGARA

Kosala and Sravasti. The Jetavana Vihara and Other Memorials and Legends of Buddha. Sympathy of the Monks with the Pilgrims.

THE Jetavana Vihara was originally of seven storeys. The kings and people of the countries around vied with one another in their offerings, hanging up about it silken streamers and canopies, scattering flower, burning incense, and lighting lamps, so as to make the night as bright as the day. This they did day after day without ceasing. It happened that a rat, carrying in its mouth the wick of a lamp, set one of the steamers or canopies on fire, which caught the vihara, and the seven storeys were all consumed. The kings, with their officers and people, were all very sad and distressed, supposing that the sandal-wool image had been burned; but lo! after four or five days, when the door of a small vihara on the east was opened, there was immediately seen the original image. They were all greatly rejoiced, and co-operated in restoring the vihara. When they had succeeded in completing two storeys, they removed the image back to its former place.

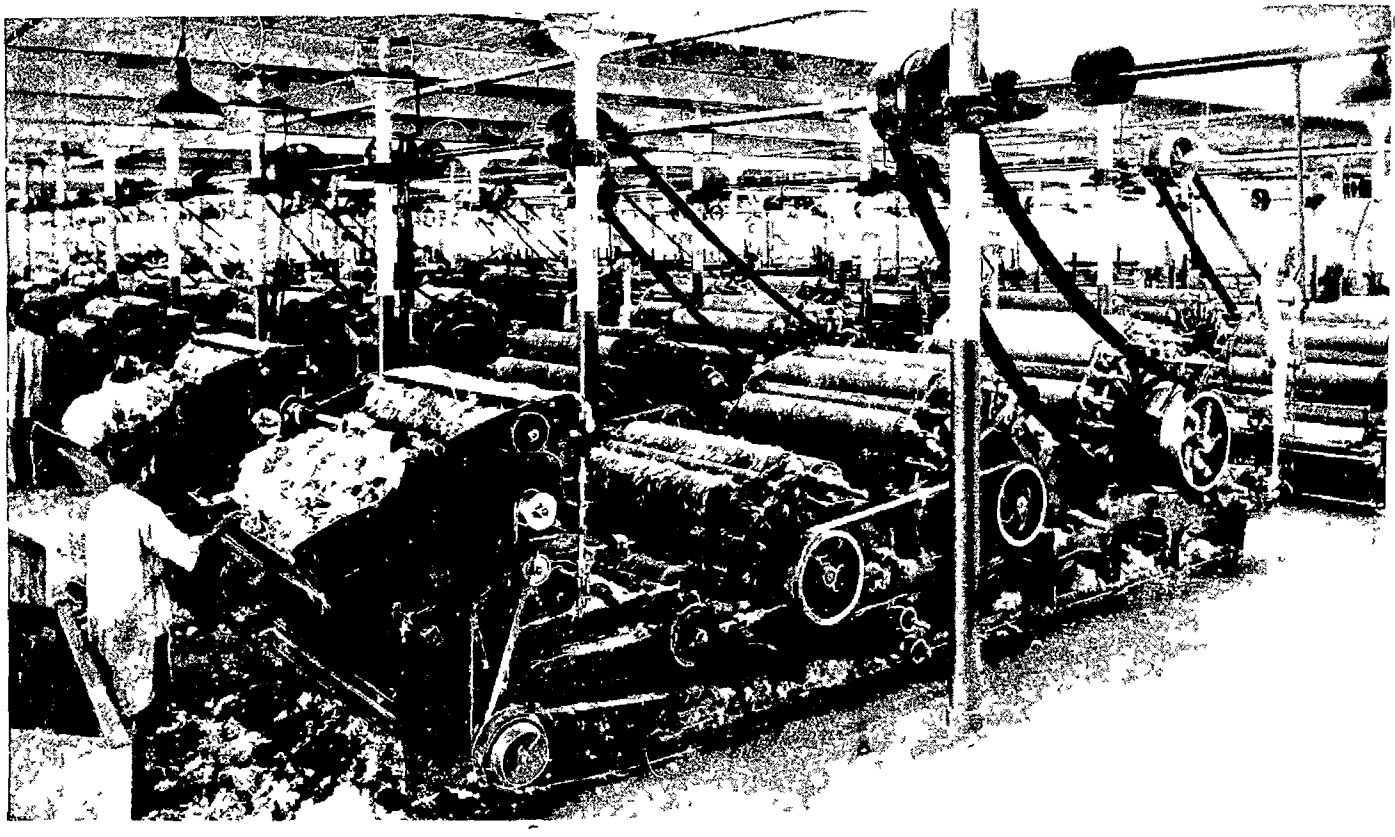
When Fa-Hien and Tao-Ching first arrived at the Jetavana monastery, and thought how the World-honoured one had formerly resided there for twenty-five years painful reflections arose in their minds. Born in a borderland, along with their like-minded friends, they had travelled through so many kingdoms; some of those friends had returned to their own land, and some had died, proving the impermanence and uncertainty of life; and to-day they saw the place where Buddha had lived now unoccupied by him. They were melancholy through their pain of heart, and the crowd of monks came out, and asked them from what kingdom they were come. 'We are come,' they replied, 'from the land of Han.' 'Strange,' said the monks with a sigh, 'that men of a border country should be able to come here in search of our Law!' Then they said to one another, 'During all the time that we, preceptors and monks, have succeeded to one another, we have never seen men of Han, followers of our system, arrive here.'

Four le to the north-west of the vihara there is a grove called 'The Getting of Eyes.' Formerly there were five hundred blind men, who lived here in order that they might be near the vihara. Buddha preached his Law to them, and they all got back their eyesight. Full of joy, they stuck their staves in the earth, and with their heads and faces on the ground, did reverence. The staves immediately began to grow, and they grew to be great. People made much of them, and no one dared to cut them down, so that they came to form a grove. It was in this way that it got its name, and most of the Jetavana monks, after they had taken their midday meal, went to the grove, and sat there in meditation.

Six or seven le north-east from the Jetavana, mother Vaisakha built another vihara, to which she invited Buddha and his monks, and which is still existing.

高僧法顯傳

二十章　　(續前期)祇洹精舍本有七層諸國王人民競興供養懸繒幡蓋散華燒香燃燈續明日日不絕鼠含燈炷燒幡蓋遂及精舍七重都盡諸國王人民皆大悲惱謂栴檀像已燒却後四五日開東小精舍戶忽見本像皆大歡喜共治精舍得作兩重還移像本處法顯道整初到祇洹精舍念昔世尊住此二十五年自傷生在邊地共諸同志遊歷諸國而或有還者或有無常者今日乃見佛空處愴然心悲彼衆僧出問法顯等言汝從何國來答曰從漢地來彼衆僧歎曰奇哉邊地之人乃能求法至此自相謂言我等諸師和上相義以來未見漢道人來到此也精舍西北四里有林名曰得眼本有五百盲人依精舍住此佛為說法盡還得眼盲人歡喜剌杖著地頭面作禮杖遂生長大世人重之無敢伐者遂成為林是故以得眼為名祇洹衆僧中食後多往彼林中坐禪祇洹精舍東北六七里毘舍佉母作精舍請佛及僧此處故在。　　(本章未完)



A view of the Carding and Weaving Section.

THE WOOLLEN INDUSTRY

by MOHD. ASLAM

The Indian woollen industry produces anything woollen from coarse blankets to worsted of the finest quality. The handloom industry produces woollen carpets in many attractive colours and designs, which decorate the most elite drawing-rooms of Europe and America. As a supplier of these carpets, India holds an important position in the world.

Handloom weaving of wool has been practised in India from early times. A large quantity of rough wool is grown on sheep in the hotter parts of the country. The wool is carded, spun and woven exclusively by hand, and is used for making coarse blankets which serve as a winter clothing for the poor. But in places, like the Punjab and Kashmir, where fine wool is available, shawls of excellent quality are made, which are much sought after by the wealthy.

Of recent years, the handloom industry has been mainly engaged in the manufacture of woollen carpets which have proved very popular in foreign markets. While these carpets do not fetch the same high price as, for instance, the Persian carpets, they are in great demand, because they shrink less and have long staple and beautiful colours.

It was towards the end of the last century that woollen mills were established in India to cater to the demand of blankets for the army. Later, the mills began to instal plants for the production of worsted yarns to supply serges to the army. Indian wool was, however, found too short for manipulation in a worsted plant. This led to the importation of long wool from Tibet, Afghanistan, and Persia, and later from Australia.

The industry received great impetus during the first Great War when the mills were worked to full capacity to meet the demand of warm clothing for the army. A number of new mills were established. This prosperity, however proved shortlived, owing to the lack of demand by the army after the war, and to the great expansion of Japanese imports. The import of yarn, however, led to the establishment of a large number of weaving mills and hosiery knitting factories.

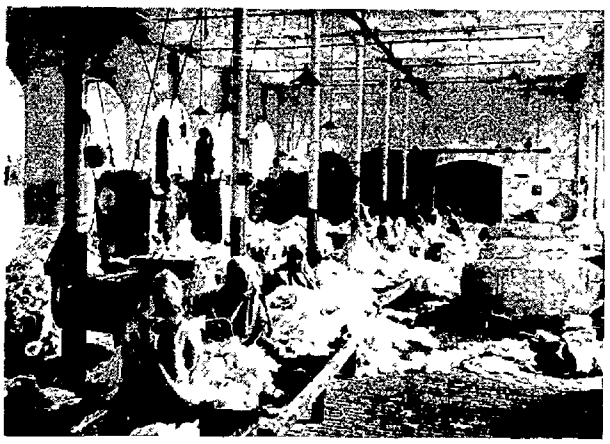
As the industry had to depend on imported wool for the worsted process, the necessity of improving the indigenous wool was realised. At that time the sheep industry was in the hands of nomads and shepherds who wandered from place to place and employed primitive methods in the shearing and grading of wool. The bulk of the wool, on reaching the market, was found to be of poor quality.

Co-ordinated schemes for sheep-breeding were financed by the Government in various Provinces and States. Sheep were selected for breeding on the basis of quality of wool. They began to figure for the first time at regional and all-India cattle shows. This led to a marked improvement in the breeding of sheep and in the cultivation of a fine quality of wool.

The outbreak of the second world war provided another opportunity for the development of the industry. To keep India's fighting forces warm and well-clad, large number of woollen goods were required. Blankets, overcoats, uniforms, underwear and socks were some of the articles which formed a soldier's-kit. Besides, worsted and hosiery goods were also required for the army. The war also gave a great fillip to the handloom industry which was dwindling for want of shipping space for the export of woollen carpets. Most of the blankets for the army were made by the handloom industry.

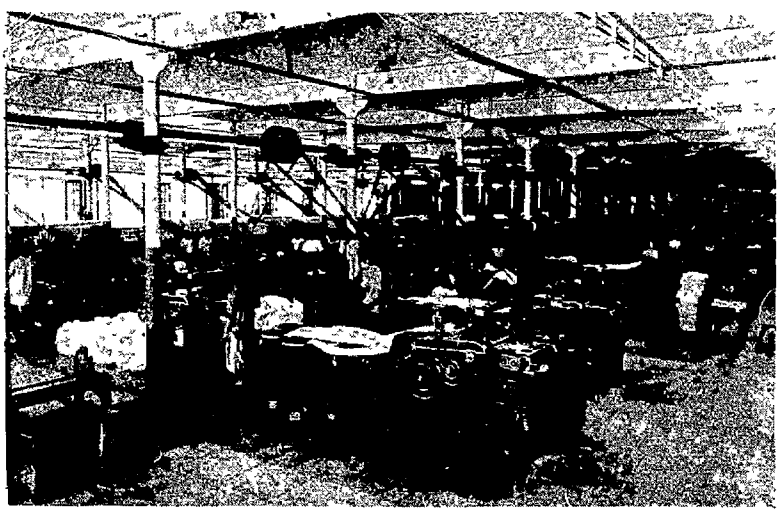
It is hoped that this prosperity will not prove shortlived With 45 million sheep, India annually produces about 86 million lbs. of wool, valued at 42 million rupees. For fine quality of wool, India has still to depend on foreign imports. There are in operation some 47,500 woollen and 37,500 worsted spindles and 2,300 power and 500 handlooms. The industry does not produce enough to meet the requirements of the country, but it is already well developed. It will undoubtedly find new channels of development to adjust itself more fully to modern conditions and requirements.

The war has brought about another important change in the outlook of the industry. During the war, all the important mills set up a central body through which they entered into negotiations with the Government. Now they intend to form themselves into a federation which, besides negotiating with the Government, will eliminate the competition which existed in the industry itself in the pre-war days. By exercising a measure of control over the output and by guiding various units of production, the federation will harness the existing resources to the best advantage. This will obviate the necessity of importing the bulk, if not all, of the foreign woollen goods. A few famous cloths such as the Dhariwal, the Kashmiri Pattoo and Pashmina and the Bangalore suitings supply a small part of the country's needs and often at a higher cost too than the corresponding English material.



Sorting of raw wool is usually done by women.

The Sewing Section. Scores of tailors are employed for such tasks as hemming blankets.



← The worsting process.

MARRIAGE AMONG HINDUS—(*continued from page 3*)

The wedding ceremony takes place usually in a large *shamiana* put up in front of the bride's house. The loud wood-wind instrument, the Nagaswara, raises its piping clamour that is to last all day long. In their respective houses the bride and bridegroom have their ceremonial baths. The bridegroom "barber'd o'er" and bathed, sets forth with an umbrella, a staff and some rice tied in a corner of the cloth that goes over his shoulders on a pretended pilgrimage to Holy Kashi (Benares), the town of those who devote themselves to the worship of God. Before he has gone far the bride's father meets him and persuades him to defer his journey till his duties as a House-holder are done. In her house the bride awaits the bridegroom on a swing. The veil between them is dropped and they put upon each other fresh garlands of sweet flowers. Then bride, bridegroom, the father and mother of the bride sit beside the Holy sacrifical fire. Priests sit arround. Farther off are all the relatives of both sides, the grown-up men to one side and the women and children to the other. These onlookers, witnesses of the solemn religious contract, come and go at will. They sit awhile, go to partake of a feast that is ready freshly prepared at all hours, return and sit and talk for a little longer and then go blessing the young couple.

The young bride who sits on her father's lap is given away and entrusted to her future lord. The transfer of responsibility is symbolized by the tying by the bridegroom of a pendant of gold, on which religious symbols have been worked, around the neck of the bride. He then leads her clockwise 3 times round the fire. He takes her by the hand for the Seven Steps. The marriage is now irrevocable. Man and wife perform what should be their daily prayers. Oblations of clarified butter are poured into the fire while prayers are addressed to the various Natural forces to bring happiness on the community and the family. Finally the religious ceremony is ended by a benedictory prayer by the chief priest and blessings pronounced by the elders to whom the young husband and wife prostrate in reverence. The verses forming the marriage litany, usually in Sanskrit, inform the husband and the wife about their sacred duties towards each other, towards society and towards the dead.

AYURVEDA—(*continued from page 7*)

by Ayurvedic doctors that chemicals tended to sap the strength of the body and were stringent remedies. Nevertheless, the Indian chemist-physicians have pursued their researches far enough to evolve various medicines. Their greatest achievement was perhaps their preparation of Mercury to be taken orally. Western pharmacopia has adopted more than 150 Indian drugs, while the Indian system was, in the 16th century, alive enough to adopt the use of Rhubarb, Opium and Tobacco from the West.

Till about a century ago Ayurveda held undisputed sway. But with appearance of western medicine with its "se'ennight's wonders" the Ayurvedic doctors, instead of taking the best of new system, tended to retreat into isolation. Luckily there has now been a great change of outlook and the practitioners of Ayurveda are familiar with allopathy and are regaining the confidence of the people especially with regard to the art of healing. Madras, Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Patna and Hardwar are centres of Ayurvedic studies. An All-India Ayurvedic Organization has been built up and All-India Conferences are frequently held. With this change of outlook the study of Ayurveda is no longer the preserved close of the few. Colleges, such as the Tibbia College in Delhi, have begun to study both the Hindu Ayurveda and the Muslim Unani systems and they are very much and increasingly frequented. For the many tropical diseases of India experience has discovered many remedies. Every day we come across "medical secrets" which it is the task of well organized colleges to make available for the benefit of everybody. The necessity of preserving all this important medical lore has been recognized. Degrees in indigenous medicine are now given in such centres of learning as Benares. India has woken up sufficiently to realise that every scruple of its assets has to be utilised to make its homes happy. Every 'Vaidya' or 'Hakim,' the Hindu or the Muslim doctor, has now to prepare himself as thoroughly, as arduously, as any allopathic practitioner before he passes muster.

With the passing of the days when only scorn was the portion of tradition the Indian people are once more turning to the revitalized Ayurveda. A great future lies ahead; for noble is the code of the Ayurvedic doctor as laid down in the *Samhita* of the sage, Charaka: "You should seek the happiness of all beings. Every day standing or sitting you should try to heal the sick with your whole heart. You should not demand too much from your patients even to maintain yourself; you must not touch another man's wife even in thought, nor hanker after another's wealth. You should be sober in dress and temperate, you must not commit a sin or be an abettor of it and you must speak words that are gentle, clean and righteous." Charaka saw vividly the temptations that might beset a doctor, saw that it is the good man that will produce good, saw that a high and religious morality was necessary to the profession. He says elsewhere in his work "Not for money nor for any earthly objects should one treat his patients. In this the physician's work excels all vocations. Those who sell treatment as a merchandise neglect the true treasure of gold in search of mere dust." We realise the force of these words, we who have had occasion to seek the services of a doctor.

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RAM LEELA : Dassera is one of the most important festivals of the Hindus and celebrates the victory of Rama, the divine hero of the epic Ramayana, over the demon king Ravana of Lanka. The festival is spread over 10 days. The main item is a dramatisation of the epic. This is known as Ram Leela or the Play of Rama. The chief figures are Rama, Sita his wife, Lakshmana his brother, and Hanumana, a redoubtable monkey-faced god. Opposed to them are Ravana, Meghanatha his son, and Ravana's brother Kumbhakarana, who was reputed to eat for one half of the year and sleep the other half.

On the last day of Dessera, the victory of the 10th day of the moon, Ravana is killed. The Ram Leela celebrations end with burning of towering effigies of Rama's three chief enemies. Filled with fireworks, these paper and bamboo effigies are shot at with fire laden arrows by the heroes until they explode and blaze away to the great delight of the spectators. One picture shows effigies of the three Evil ones, the ten headed Ravana being in the middle ; and the other shows Ravana and Meghanatha in their last fiery moments while Kumbhakarana is already burnt up.

"十夜節"為印度教最大之佳節乃慶祝印度教某神戰勝其敵人十首魔王某者由秋季某月之朔日開始連續十夜故曰十夜節每夜於日落後直至深夜由人演出該神並其妻其弟及一猴面神等四神與該魔王並其子及其弟等三魔之戰爭

另用紙竹扎成該魔王並其子及其弟等之三偶像像內藏焰火於十夜節之最終一夜待魔王被該神戰敗而就誅後由該神等用火箭將該三偶像射燒一時焰火齊發煙氣冲天藉以慶賀該神等之最後勝利同時並以之娛樂觀衆故往觀之民衆極夥右圖中示三魔之巨大偶像居中者即十首魔王居左者乃其子居右者乃其弟上圖示正在燃燒中之十首魔王及其子而其弟幾已化為灰燼矣

PROGRESS IN MYSORE FROM 1881 TO 1951

BY SRI S. G. SASTRY, B.A., M.Sc. (Lond.)

No apology is needed for choosing the years 1881 to 1951, since these seventy years happen to be the most eventful years in the history of Modern Mysore—widely known and appreciated as "the Model State of Mysore". Thousands of competent writers have written on different aspects of developments in Mysore State, especially during the last 20 years. The period covers the reigns of three illustrious and farsighted Maharajas of Mysore and an equally illustrious and able Maharani, Vani Vilas Ammanavaru, who held the destinies of Mysore State during the Regency period. The State of Mysore has been singularly fortunate in having had during this period a succession of able statesmen and administrators as Dewans, eleven in number. The Rulers and their Dewans have contributed their best for the development of the State in all directions. It is not the intention of the writer to single out individuals for any special review of his work. It is only when circumstances warrant, individual names will be mentioned.

As mentioned earlier, since there is a big volume of previous writings and references, many of the things stated here will have to take the character of mere enumeration or cataloguing of achievements of the State. The writer has borrowed freely from all the previous writings, particularly so from Mr. M. Shama Rao's "Modern Mysore" Volume II; from 'Mr. P. H. Krishna Rao's latest Census Report; and from Mr. D.V. Gundappa's "All About Mysore". For the sake of easy treatment of the subject, the article will be divided under the headings (1) The Ruling Family and Form of Government; and (2) Milestones of Progress with special reference to Industries:

Every Mysorean, and for that matter, every true Indian should be proud of "the glory that was Mysore" and "the glory that Mysore continues to be" in times to come. This glory has been achieved, beginning from 1881 up to the present times by gradual and purposeful association of the people of Mysore in the affairs of the Government of the State, with a change-over from a purely autocratic State to a purely democratic State under the ægis of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. Looking back reminiscently, one cannot fail to observe a delightful rivalry between the Ruler and the Ruled. The Ruler of the State had only one wish to fulfil and that was the care and welfare of his subjects and to rule them according to their wishes in all possible ways. On the other hand, the people of the State, consciously and unconsciously, reciprocated this feeling of the Ruler by their unstinted love, respect and loyalty. If the people of Mysore happened to be or happen to be true to the Maharaja, the Ruler of the State was equally true to the people. The motto of

the Royal House "Satyamevoddharamyaham" (compare with "Satyameva Jayate", the motto of the Government of India) was put into practice theoretically and practically and, in response, the people of Mysore, when they were seized of the modern democratic tendencies, wanted the democratic Government only under the ægis of the Maharaja of Mysore. These affectionate bonds between the Ruler and his subjects all these years happen to be "the glory of Mysore". Sir Mirza M. Ismail epitomised this memorable statement; "It is impossible to think of Mysore without her Maharaja."

1. The Ruling Family and the Form of Government.

The year 1881 marks the beginning of an important era in the history of Mysore. After 50 years of administration under a British Commission, the throne of Mysore was restored to the Ruling family by a "Sannad" or an instrument of transfer which was later replaced by a treaty in 1913. Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur was installed on the throne of Mysore on 21st March 1881. His Highness was an enlightened and patriotic Ruler, full of zeal for the progress and reputation of Mysore, capable and discerning and above all constitutional in spirit and conduct. He gave his guidance to his ministers and directed their labours with understanding and sympathy. It was during his reign that Mysore came to be spoken of as "The Model State." His untimely death on 28th December 1894 at Calcutta was a calamity not merely to his millions of mourning subjects but to the whole of India as Justice Ranade was reported to have observed. The State was subsequently placed under the care of Her Highness the Maharani, aided by a Council; the days of her Regency witnessed a further development of the measures of progress initiated in the previous years. In the year 1902, His Highness Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur was invested with full ruling powers. How deeply and genuinely thankful the people of Mysore were over that event and how profoundly appreciative of all the blessings it has brought to them was shown in a magnificent manner on the occasion of his Silver Jubilee in 1927. An address of congratulation, recounting numerous great services rendered to the State by His Highness, inscribed on a beautiful silver panel and signed by thousands of citizens representing all sections of all parts of the State was presented to His Highness on that day amidst impressive scenes of enthusiasm and joy. His Highness Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur ruled over the destinies of the State till 1940. These 38 years of his reign have been appropriately described as the Golden Era of Mysore's progress. Mahatma Gandhi, when he sojourned in the State of Mysore for a couple of months to recoup his health, described the reign of His Highness as "Ramarajya". His Highness Sri Jayachamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur succeeded his uncle in the year 1940 and has been ably guiding the destinies of the State in tune with the spirit of modern times.

The system of Government obtaining in Mysore is constitutional in intention and general operation. His Highness the Maharaja is the head of the State and there are duly authorised (*a*) Legislative, (*b*) Executive and (*c*) Judicial agencies with well-defined powers and responsibilities to carry on the ordinary work

of legislation and administration under His Highness' care and control. Till a couple of years ago, the pattern of the executive administration was as follows. The Dewan was the chief executive officer of the State with his permanent headquarters at Bangalore. He was assisted in his work of administration by two or more Members of Council and the various portfolios of the Secretariat were divided amongst the Dewan and his Councillors. In the background there has always been a very well-organised and a thoroughly efficient Secretariat. The Mysore Secretariat has commanded respect and admiration all over India. For the conduct of the day-to-day affairs of the State there are a number of special departments manned by able and tried officers. The District administration centres round the Deputy Commissioner corresponding to the Collector of a District in the Indian Province. The Deputy Commissioner in turn is assisted by Assistant Commissioners incharge of Sub-Divisions and the District treasuries and at the head of each taluk there is an Amildar who, though mainly concerned in revenue matters, epitomizes in a smaller measure the work allotted to the Deputy Commissioner. The revenue side of the village work is under a Shekdar or Revenue Inspector over a group of villages and each village has its own Patel as the headman and the Shanbhogue as the accountant. Recruitment to the higher posts of the Government has been by an open competitive examination and also by nomination of worthy candidates from amongst distinguished families who have rendered conspicuous service to the State. In matters of local self-Government, there are nine district boards with elected members and there are nearly 150 municipalities, major and minor, all over the State. The two premier Municipalities happen to be those of Mysore and Bangalore.

The two legislative bodies in the State happen to be the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. As early as 1881, Mysore led the way for future India in the matter of association of representatives of the State in the governance of a Province or State by the establishment of a Representative Assembly, the first of its kind in India. Mysore was "a path-finder" in this respect. The Government Order of the 25th August 1881 announced:

> "His Highness the Maharaja is desirous that the views and objects which his Government has in view in the measures adopted for the administration of the Province should be better known and appreciated by the people for whose benefit they are intended and he is of opinion that a beginning towards attainment of this object may be made by an annual meeting of the representative landlords and merchants from all parts of the Province, before whom the Dewan will place the results of the past year's administration and a programme of what is intended to be carried out in the coming year. Such an arrangement, by bringing the people in immediate communication with the Government, would serve to remove from their minds any misapprehensions in regard to the views and actions of the Government, and would convince them that the *interests of the Government are identical with those of the people.*"

The Mysore Representative Assembly is a permanent memorial to Dewan Rangacharlu. Space will not permit of recording further progress that was made by the Representative Assembly as it exists to-day.

The framing of laws and regulations was originally the function of the Executive Council of His Highness the Maharaja. This was changed by the institution of a Legislative Council in the year 1907 (Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao). As in the case of the Representative Assembly, the start and development of the Mysore Legislative Council will take too long to recount and record.

Rules and regulations have been made for the conduct of the work of the Representative Assembly and that of the Legislative Council. Even in our own State, apart from the formal rules and regulations,—conventions have been established which have helped the freedom to "slowly broaden down from precedent to precedent." All the Dewans of the State with their wise and statesmanlike outlook and policy have made noteworthy contributions in this field and even though the people were occasionally impatient for a more rapid rate of progress, the administration hastened slowly and directed orderly progress step by step till the culmination of responsible Government by elected Ministers under the ægis of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

It has already been mentioned that the State of Mysore was restored to the Ruling Family in 1881 under an Instrument of Transfer which was later replaced by a treaty. Under this arrangement, the British Government appointed a Resident with his headquarters at Bangalore as a sort of an Adviser to the Government of Mysore, if and when required, and as a liaison agency between the Foreign Department of the Government of India and the State of Mysore. This arrangement worked fairly satisfactorily in a spirit of co-operation, mutual goodwill and harmony. With the passing of the Indian Independence Act, the office of the British Resident was abolished from 15th August 1947, on which date, what was known as the Bangalore Cantonment became part and parcel of the Mysore State in every way instead of being "Ceded territory". On that date the State of Mysore acceded to the Government of India, agreeing to transfer the Departments of Communications, Foreign Relations and Defence to them. Negotiations are afoot to integrate with the Central Government some other Governmental functions and Departments of the State with a view to securing a sound All-India policy.

Another historic event should be recorded. By a Proclamation, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore abolished the post of the Dewan with effect from 7th August 1949. The same Proclamation stated that His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore would nominate the Chief Minister to form the Ministry and the other Ministers of the Cabinet would be appointed by His Highness on the recommendation of the Chief Minister. The last meeting of the Executive Council of the State of Mysore took place on Saturday the 6th August 1949, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, the last Dewan, presiding. Under the Proclamation the Hon'ble Sri K. C. Reddy was appointed Chief Minister of the State and invited to form the Ministry with full Cabinet responsibility. Thus the identity of interests between the Ruler and the ruled,—in perfect harmony and in

tune with the modern democratic ideas and ideals—was secured and established.

II. Milestones of Progress with Special Reference to Industries.

In this article, it is only just possible to touch upon some fundamental or basic factors that have led eventually to the progress that the State of Mysore has achieved during recent times. In this process of selection, there are sure to be many notable omissions but owing to exigencies of space there is no help for it. The attention of the reader is invited to the excellent and comprehensive handbook and guide of the Mysore Dasara Exhibition, 1948, in which the Ministers of the State, the Heads of various Departments of State and also prominent public workers have recorded in detail, practically all the activities in the State in an authoritative manner.

Chronologically, the pride of place will have to be awarded to the development of hydro-electric power in the State of Mysore, the first of its kind in the whole of India, by Sir K. Seshadri Iyer. The then British Government were very critical of this development, if not actively hostile. In spite of it, the scheme was put through in co-operation with the General Electric Company of America. In the absence of cheap coal in South India, but for this, there would have been no industrial progress in the State of Mysore. Directly or indirectly, the present prosperity of the State of Mysore is due to electricity. During the regime of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, two other important events took place and they are the starting of the Department of Geology and the Bangalore Water Supply Scheme. A few years later, the Government of Mysore succeeded in their efforts to have the Indian Institute of Science established in Bangalore by the grant of 371 acres of land, a non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 5 lakhs and an annual subsidy of fifty thousand rupees. In the field of scientific and technical education, this development is an important milestone.

An outstanding event of far-reaching importance took place soon after,—lucky in every way to our State. This was the return of Sir M. Visvesvaraya to his mother State as the Chief Engineer to the Government of Mysore and later the Dewan of Mysore. The first thing he did was to obtain sanction for the building of the Krishnaraja Sagar Dam. This was followed up by the starting of the Mysore Economic Conference which was the first of its kind in India and which has continuously played a very vital part in the economic development of the State. Even though it does not appeal to the man in the street as anything very spectacular, I am personally of opinion that the educative influence of this institution has been of far-reaching effect not only in Mysore but all over India. There is no sphere of Mysore's life or activity in which its influence has not been felt, directly or indirectly, during the last 38 years. This institution has worked unostentatiously, efficiently and effectively, never caring for public applause. It is not all fanciful to say that the Mysore Economic Conference modified and influenced the economic outlook all over India in the deliberations of the Central, provincial and other State Governments. In the intellectual field, the founding of the Mysore University, in the regime of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the first University in an Indian State, was a perpetual boon to the

youth of Mysore. Two unique institutions in the field of technical and industrial education happen to be Sri Chamarajendra Technical Institute at Mysore and the splendid Sri Jayachamarajendra Occupational Institute at Bangalore. On the financial and commercial side, the starting of the key-institution, *viz.*, the Bank of Mysore, was notable. Equally important was the starting of a basic industry in the State, *viz.*, the Mysore Iron and Steel Works. The special point about this is that anywhere in the whole of Asia, only in Mysore do a modern wood distillation plant and a charcoal iron furnace exist.

Another development whose importance has not been fully appreciated by the general public is the starting of the Sandalwood Oil Factory by Sir M. Visvesvaraya's Government. The small revenue that was being realised by the sale of this monopoly article to the British and Continental distillers was permanently enhanced when the Government stopped the sale of sandalwood and started their own distillation plant. The revenue of the State got a permanent extra contribution on an average of Rs. 20 lakhs a year in perpetuity.

Another new, permanent and increasing source of revenue that this regime introduced was the levy of Income-tax. The importance of this can be realised when one sees that in the year 1937-38 it amounted to Rs. 29·92 lakhs and the budget estimate for 1949-50 (12 years later) provides a figure of Rs. 204·75 lakhs.

It was during the same regime that the Industrial Policy, for which the State of Mysore has become famous all over India, was adumbrated. This policy was worked intensively during the regime of Sir Mirza M. Ismail who also proved conclusively that industrial development need not necessarily be ugly. Sri H. C. Dasappa, Minister for Finance and Industries, in an article on "Industries in Mysore" states as follows :—

> "Mysore's plan was to nationalise all basic and key concerns like Electricity, Railways and Iron and Steel works. In the case of some new industries also where private enterprise was lacking, Government would start them on their own. With regard to other medium-scale industries, Government would generally sponsor them on a joint-stock basis and become participators in the capital and management, granting certain concessions and facilities. The rest of the industries were open to private enterprise, Government extending their help by way of certain concessions in the matter of power, water, land, etc. This scheme has worked as a model for many other Governments.....In the case of those industries which are started by Government on a pilot plant scale, their idea is that when they are established on a sound basis and when competent organisations are forthcoming, they can de-officialise them on joint-stock basis, retaining a share in the capital and the management, if need be ....."

Special mention should be made here of the foresight and wisdom of Sir Mirza M. Ismail who was responsible for the starting of the first Aircraft Company in India, *viz.*, The Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., as a State-aided joint-stock company, with Mysore Government holding Rs. 75,00,000 worth of shares.

Sir Mirza Ismail was also responsible for the starting of the first synthetic ammonia and nitrogenous Fertiliser factory in India, *viz.*, The Mysore Chemicals and Fertilisers Ltd. Both these are of vital importance to a nation's welfare in modern times.

The total capital invested in 100 per cent Government concerns till 1948 was Rs. 3,41,91,412; the capital invested in Government-aided concerns was Rs. 3,40,30,975; the capital invested in private limited companies was Rs. 1,43,74,870. An industrial concern which is a class by itself, *viz.*, the Gold Mining Company had a capital of Rs. 2,30,66,866. The total capital invested in all the above four categories came to Rs. 10,39,64,123.

Three other milestones in the progress of Mysore should be mentioned now. One of them is the appointment of a Trade Commissioner for Mysore in London. Mysore was again the leader in this respect. The second one was the organisation of the Mysore Dasara Exhibition. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar observes :—

> "The Industrial policy followed by Mysore was responsible for organising by the State of an Exhibition of industrial products, mainly of cottage industries, which has been a feature during Dasara season. To this day there is hardly any Provincial Government which by itself has organised an Industrial Exhibition".

The third one for which credit is due to Sir Mirza Ismail is the rural electric development scheme. Mysore has been a pioneer in this field. The blessings and benefits of cheap electric power are transforming the country-side of Mysore and very soon Mysore can be compared to Switzerland or Norway or Japan in this respect.

Before leaving the subject of industrial and commercial developments, mention should be made of post-war planning in Mysore in this field which contemplates a capital investment of nearly ten crores of rupees, both Government and private, (excluding hydro-electric). The installation of electric furnace for smelting of iron-ore and the manufacture of ferro-alloys, and the starting of a new fertiliser factory with an output of 50,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilisers a year are on hand and are actively progressing.

The progress achieved in the State of Mysore in the development of agriculture, medical and public health and education can best be presented by the following statistics regarding the amount of money spent by the State in the year 1937-38 and the amount provided in the budget for 1949-50.

	1937-38	*Budget for 1949-50*
	Rs.	Rs.
Agriculture ...	4·13 lakhs,	45·11 lakhs.
Medical and Public Health.	18·26 ,,	123·14 ,,
Education (including University.)	51·75 ,,	209·4

There is an old statement in the English Language—"Something attempted, something done"! This is the only modest way in which the achievements of the State of Mysore from 1881 to the present day can be described. Recognition of Mysore's work in various fields of life's activities has come in an indirect manner much to the pride and satisfaction of all Mysoreans. During the last 10 or 12 years, Mysore has become a recognised and popular venue for All-India Conferences, culminating in the recent International Forestry Conference at Mysore. Some other instances

may be quoted; The Indian Science Congress, the Oriental Conference, the Y.M.C.A. Conference, the All-India Economic Conference, the Sericultural Conference, Industries Conference, All-India Newspapers Editors' Conference, etc, etc.

The continuous and the cumulative effect of these developments has been the training of technical personnel both in Government and non-Government activities. To cite an instance, the band of Mysore Engineers, Civil, Mechanical and Electrical, has been unsurpassed anywhere in India, nay in the East. This is specially so in the planning, construction and efficient management of hydro-electric schemes.

Space does not permit of reviewing other fields of activities such as labour legislation, Harijan upliftment, encouragement to cottage industries and the Adult Literacy Campaign. etc., etc. The services rendered in these fields by institutions, like the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat, a number of Karnataka Sanghas and the Kannada journals cannot be over-estimated. The Royal House of Mysore has again been the fountain-source of encouragement to art, literature, music and drama. Mysore has a proud and noble record of religious toleration. The noblest example of this tolerance was that large-hearted and pious personage, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, Sir Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur (IV). His Highness' messages of goodwill and tolerance on occasions like his gift of a mosque to the Palace Body Guard lines, laying the foundation stone of St. Philomena's Church, opening of a Jain Shrine, etc., etc., should be recorded and cherished in letters of gold.

As a fitting conclusion to this rather brief survey of Mysore's progress, I cannot do better than reproduce the message of His late Highness Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiar to his beloved people on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of his reign :—

> "I thank God, who has blessed Mysore so abundantly in material ways, that he has blessed her also with a sincere modest, liberal-minded and industrious people; and I thank my people themselves, my Government and my Officers that, by their hearty co-operation for the good of Mysore, they have earned for her the name of the MODEL STATE. I pray that we may all be assisted in the years to come to work together in the spirit of brotherhood for the same good end, so that with an efficient administration, increased facilities for agriculture, industry and commerce and equal opportunities for all, we may devote our common energies to raising Mysore to a level with the foremost countries of the world. It is my earnest desire that this spirit of brotherhood should be extended to the continuous improvement of the conditions of those who are less fortunate than ourselves, remembering that all the communities alike are members of my people and children of my country. I pray that a similar spirit may extend itself to the dumb creation and that we may see animals, and especially those we hold sacred, treated with ever-increasing consideration for the feelings which they cannot express. And I appeal specially to the rising generation to hold before themselves always the ideal of

brotherhood and of good citizenship, so that when they come to fill our places, they may continue in all good ways to advance and increase the welfare of our beloved Motherland. Finally, I send my loving greetings to each one of my dear people with a heart full of solicitude for their happiness. With increasing effort, I shall, while life lasts, endeavour to promote their welfare and prosperity and I pray that God may give me light and strength to achieve this, the supreme object of my life and rule."

THIS IS THE GLORY OF MYSORE !

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"MYSORE : THE OLD ERA AND THE NEW"*

"MYSORE IS AN ASSET TO ALL INDIA"

By Sir Stuart Fraser, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

"The Mysore Administration Report for the year 1940-1941 records the closing of an era in the history of the State with the death on August 3, 1940, of H. H. the Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., who "for thirty-seven years had guided the destinies of the State with great wisdom and beneficence, and had earned the love, admiration and respect not only of his seven million subjects, but of people throughout the length and breadth of India and overseas." He was succeeded by his nephew, H. H. Maharaja Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur. Nor was this the only notable change which marked the beginning of a new period in Mysore history. *Amin-ul-Mulk* Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., retired from service as Dewan on June 1, 1941, and *Rajamantrapravina* N. Madhava Rau was appointed in his place.

"The writer of this review owes his selection for the task to the fact that forty-six years ago it fell to him to be tutor and governor to the late Maharaja, then a boy of thirteen, during his minority; and later on as Resident in Mysore he had the rare satisfaction of watching how his old pupil was fulfilling the highest hopes as Ruler of his great State. Their lifelong friendship was kept up by correspondence which ended only a few days before the Maharaja's sudden death, and enables the writer, perhaps, to throw some sidelights on his diverse characteristics.

"Never did the passing of an Indian Prince evoke so many remarkable tributes to his

**This article was published in the "Asiatic Review", London.*

character as a man or as a Ruler, and such universal recognition of the loss which his death meant to the British Government, the Order of Princes, his own subjects and indeed to the whole of India.

"No man was ever more averse by temperament from anything like self-advertisement. But Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar was one of those fortunate individuals whose personality quickly impresses all who came in contact with him. *The Times* and the Indian Press, vernacular and English, united in eulogizing a remarkable Ruler whose monument is his State. And not only personal friends, including H.M. the King-Emperor, ex-Viceroys and Governors, but notable men of all creeds—Hindus, Muslims and Christians—paid him his meed of praise for his saintly character, the cultured simplicity of his life, his courteous dignity and hospitality, and his love of music, gardening and the fine arts—gifts which he combined on the physical side with no mean proficiency in manly games and sports. The personal tributes which reached Mysore would fill a volume. Moreover, a memorial meeting, largely attended, was convened in London and was addressed by his old friend, the late Marquess of Willingdon. And at St. Bartholomew's Church in Mysore English-speaking Protestant Christians united in holding a service of prayer and thanksgiving for the life and work of the late Ruler.

"Little, if any, exaggeration marred these estimates of a man whose virtues were so many and failings so few. Called to rule his State at the early age of eighteen, the Maharaja had neither the time—nor, indeed, the inclination—to acquire much book-learning. But nature in the main, and training in some measure, equipped him to lead a full and well-balanced life such as falls to the lot of few men, princes or commoners. His Highness would probably have demurred at being called, as some people called him, a philosopher. But he did regulate

his life on wise eclectic principles. Although himself rightly revered by his people as a devout Hindu, in many of his speeches he commended to the diverse castes and creeds of Mysore the ideal of "unity in diversity," that unity in fundamentals which is much deeper than the differences. And in secular matters the catholic breadth of his mind was revealed when, in an address he gave as Chancellor of the Benares University, he stressed that their ideals should combine the best of the East with the practical efficiency of the West. Practising what he preached, his conception of a modern ruler of an ancient Hindu State required him to satisfy both old and new standards. And that he did not fail to realize this conception may be inferred from the fact that while pandits learned in the Hindu Sanathan Dharma hailed him as the "Rishi-Raja," or saint-ruler, eminent politicians like Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad agreed in holding that the Maharaja, although not in law a constitutional sovereign, chose to behave as such and satisfied any test which a lover of modern constitutional development could apply.

"There was truth in both these estimates of his rule. His Highness did regard his State as a sacred trust. The double social and religious festival of Navaratri and Dasara was kept up by him annually with all the old-world pageantry, not so much because, like his birthday, it was an occasion for popular rejoicing and lavish hospitality to his European guests, but because for the first nine days and nights the Maharaja in ascetic seclusion is the central figure who then—if the religious ideas involved can be summarized in a sentence—receives the homage of his people "as both the representative of God to them and of them to God".

By Indian tradition the head of the State is regarded as the symbol of Dharma or the Law, and it is he who represents the people primarily in his own person, however he may delegate

his functions to individuals or bodies. This responsibility the Maharaja took seriously. To quote from one of his letters:

"Personally I want the best men I can get for the jobs, with, of course, a preference for Mysoreans, if they are as good as others. But I should hate to be tied by ratios; while, as for democracy, I have no hesitation in saying that I am better fitted to choose my ministers than the populace."

So we find that at one time he had a Muslim (Sir Mirza Ismail) as Dewan, an Englishman (Sir Charles Todhunter) as Private Secretary, and a Catholic Christian (Mr. T. Thumboo Chetty) as his Huzur Secretary. No one ever disputed the political sagacity with which he selected his Prime Ministers and gave them a free hand in carrying out the details of his and their policy. But he realized that, while Ministers come and go, and each naturally would wish to hurry through his schemes during his own spell of office, the Ruler's is a lifelong responsibility; and it was the Maharaja who set the pace. The late Sir Evan (then Mr.) Maconochie, who was Private Secretary to His Highness during the first seven years of his rule (in his book *Life in the Indian Civil Service*), thus described his association with "a man of singular depth of character":

"Through all initial difficulties the Maharaja pursued his placid way, undisturbed by the criticism of the thoughtless, the uninformed or the dissatisfied. He arrived at decisions with deliberation, but his mind, once made up, was unalterable, and the unforgiveable sin in his eyes was inconsistency or feeble change of front on the part of a responsible officer. Himself absolutely reliable, he found no excuse for vacillation in others. His patience was inexhaustible, he was never the young man in a hurry, but, as the years rolled by, one scheme after another of his own planning was realized with a completeness that was impressive."

This picture held good when I, as Resident, knew the young Ruler, and little change occurred, I imagine, until in recent years ill-health gradually curtailed his activities.

Mysore was the pioneer among Indian States as regards constitutional developments. It was a well-ordered State that Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar's father took over on the Rendition by the British Government in 1881, and in the same year the first Representative Assembly was created—an experiment without precedent in those days. On these sound foundations, His Highness from an early date after his accession in 1902, built up step by step a superstructure—as he himself described it—of "administrative machinery and a Constitution adapted to new times, needs and aspirations," but one wisely based upon Indian as well as European theories. A Legislative Council was constituted in 1907. In 1923, a liberal reformed Constitution was proclaimed, and further reforms in the functions of the two representative bodies in the State were completed, just before the Maharaja's death in 1940, in order to give the people an increased part in the administration of affairs. The inauguration of those changes was one of the first State functions performed by the present Maharaja.

Nor were these mere paper reforms. On the late Maharaja's death, distinguished public men in Bombay and Madras bore witness not only to the character of his rule, but to the high standard of right and justice which prevailed in his State, and the freedom and political privileges enjoyed by his subjects. To quote one of them:

"The administration of Mysore was certainly more popular and more benevolent than the administration of the British Indian Provinces under so-called popular Ministers."

Indeed, if proof were required of Indian capacity for self-government at its best, the answer would be, "Look at Mysore!"

Nevertheless, irrational though it may seem, it was this truly model State that members of the Indian Congress selected for attack, and in late years, several outbreaks of violent agitation disturbed the general peace and contentment which had prevailed during the Maharaja's long reign. On this subject His Highness wrote to me in 1938 as follows:—

"We certainly have had some troublous times in Mysore, but I hope they are passing over now. Meanwhile, Mirza is going ahead with innumerable progressive schemes. I have no doubt he is right in considering that an active policy of nation-building activities is the best medicine for political unrest."

Unfortunately, as recent events have proved, this was another case of failure to appease the unappeasable. Mr. Gandhi had not threatened Indian Rulers idly, and more bloodshed and sabotage have recently been reported from Mysore. But that is another story.

Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar strikingly illustrated the truth of the old saying that the boy is father of the man, and the chief traits in his character were early manifest. Formally installed on the *gadi* when he was only eleven years old, His Highness was always from the first a little Maharaja. Not that he ever showed himself priggish or overbearing or lacking in fun with the companions who shared his general lessons and games. But he was mature for his age, and he sized up both his own people and Englishmen and women with an intuition amazing in one of his years. At the same time under an undemonstrative demeanour there lay a capacity for constant affection for the friends of his choice

During his minority the State was administered by his mother, H. H. the Maharani-Regent, a remarkable lady who, in the words of Lord Curzon, set an example of public and domestic virtue. For myself, I remember gratefully that Her Highness's friendship and

support were invaluable to me in my task. As to the Maharaja, no son ever owed more to a proud mother, or repaid the debt with a more intense lifelong devotion. Not being blessed with children of his own, throughout life he was a rather lonely figure, and his happiness centred in his mother and sisters and the Yuvaraja, his brother and heir-apparent, whose death shortly preceded his own. These early associations were ideal; but as time went on the Maharaja suffered many bereavements, which culminated when the Dowager-Maharani passed away in 1933. He was never quite the same man afterwards. It was only after this filial tie was broken that His Highness, fond though he was of travel, could be persuaded to leave India for a three months' tour in Europe. He thoroughly enjoyed it, but characteristically he confessed that he liked few things better than slipping away by himself and exploring London by omnibus and underground railways.

To revert, however, to early days. No part of his special training interested him more than the tours we made in Northern India and Burma, and in particular the weeks spent, shortly before his investment with ruling powers, in an unceremonial visit to various parts of his beautiful country. The Maharaja himself drove our small party from camp to camp, and many pleasant memories have been revived by reading again the diary which he conscientiously kept. It records descriptions of places and people seen, of the speeches he made at village durbars, and of the varied sport enjoyed. He details, too, his surprise village inspections when, accompanied by the Deputy Commissioner, we would ride out from camp without previous notice to some neighbouring village, gather the ryots at the *chavdi* to hear their petitions, check the ryots' revenue receipt books, and, in short, make the sort of inspection which is part of a district officer's routine. Great was His Highness's glee, and that of the ryots, when some shortcoming on

the part of the village accountant was then brought to light, and the fame spread through the countryside of a young Maharaja who saw and did such unheard-of things for himself. These may seem trifles, but his personal interest thus created in the working of revenue administration in the villages stood the Maharaja in good stead as a ruler. He loved the beautiful scenery of his western districts, and throughout life, when he needed a short holiday, it was to some picturesque spot in the Mysore hill country that he would betake himself. He wrote to me in 1931: "Some of the places I have been visiting now conjure up old memories, memories glamorous in retrospect, when years ago you and I toured in these same parts as tutor and pupil respectively." Mountains always attracted him, and at different times he made pilgrimages to Mount Kailas by Lake Manasasarowar on the Tibet border, and to Badrinath and Amarnath in the Himalayas (places sacred to all Hindus), which involved journeys on foot over high, barren altitudes in cold and wet to test not only the zeal of the pilgrim, but his physical toughness. An able-bodied young A. D. C. of the Maharaja of Kashmir, who had been attached to the Mysore party, once told me feelingly how Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar had walked him off his legs on the journey to Amarnath!

The Maharaja, short in stature, was at first inclined to put on too much weight. But pretty hard daily exercise held the tendency in check, and as a man he kept up the same healthy regimen. He was a fine horseman, and nothing roused his enthusiasm more as a boy than hunting with the Ootacamund hounds. Always well up, he constituted himself an extra whip to the Master, and in later days, encouraging the same tastes in his nephew, he gave him a small pack of hounds to hunt in Mysore. He was devoted to animals, particularly to his horses and polo ponies, and in after-life it was during his daily visit,

accompanied by a pet terrier, to his stables that he liked to welcome visitors and got through a good deal of miscellaneous business.

Racquets was his favourite game, and I cannot refrain from quoting the following remark which was graciously made to me by a certain illustrious royal personage (himself a well-known player), who, on return from his visit to India in 1922, happened to hear of my connection with Mysore: "I met no finer gentleman than your Maharaja, and ..... he gave me a darned good licking at squash!"

Music was the Maharaja's great recreation, and when a lad he kept a variety of instruments in his room, on which he would pick out any tune that took his fancy. As a man he played the violin, kept up an English orchestra in his palace, and was a liberal patron of Indian music as well. Music remained his solace to the end.

His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur died peacefully at the age of 56, after 37 years of unsparing service to his State and people. Happily he was spared a long illness, the idea of which, as he told a friend, he dreaded lest he should give a great deal of trouble to others. And we may hope that his passing was eased by the presence beside him of the heir whom he had lovingly trained like a son for years past, against the day when he might be called upon to rule over Mysore.

The State was saved from another minority, for Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur was twenty-one years old when he succeeded to the *gadi* on August 29, 1940, an age which had enabled him to continue his studies up to university standards, to travel, and to learn something about administration. One hears nothing but good about His Highness's character and ability, and it may be confidently hoped that, choosing his advisers wisely as the late Maharaja always did, he will fulfil every expectation and prove equal to the

responsibilities of his great heritage. Here is part of the message which he broadcast to his people:

"In succeeding to the throne of Mysore, I follow a great Ruler who loved you all and who won your love by his love of God, his wisdom, his graciousness, his humanity, his faithfulness to duty and his kingly greatness. It is now for us to dedicate ourselves to the fulfilment of his great task. The world is very full of troubles today, and it is only by meeting these troubles in a spirit of unity that we can win through. In this spirit, I look upon this ceremony of ascending the throne of my ancestors as a dedication of myself, my life and all I have to the service of the people of Mysore. May God grant me light and strength in the discharge of the sacred duty entrusted to me, and may His blessings in abundance rest on and brighten every hearth and home in Mysore!"

Like his uncle, His Highness is a staunch and loyal supporter of the British Government, as he has already proved in these days of trial by actions, some account of which is given below.

The same twelve months witnessed change not only in the Rulers, but in the Prime Ministers of Mysore State. *Amin-ul-Mulk* Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., who retired with effect from June 1, 1941, was far from being the least eminent of the distinguished Dewans by whom Mysore has had the good fortune to be served. The Administration Report records that—

"In bidding him farewell, His Highness the Maharaja expressed high appreciation of the eminent services which Sir Mirza Ismail had rendered to the State. Over a period of thirty-six years he had set an enduring example of zeal and devotion to duty. His wide knowledge, his far-seeing statesmanship, his abundant energy, his keen interest in everything that is for the good of the State, his outstanding success in developing its resources and his

ready sympathy with people of all classes and creeds have made his name and his achievements famous far beyond the confines of Mysore."

This was a worthy tribute to the many and great gifts which Sir Mirza devoted to the service of Mysore.

The present is not the occasion for any detailed account of the amazing progress, both in rural reconstruction and industrial development, which his drive and energy achieved during the three spells of office, totalling fifteen years, he served as the Prime Minister of his close friend, the late Maharaja. Sufficient here is the Indian saying: "What the wick and the oil are to the pure flame, the King and his Minister are to the governance of a State." If the Maharaja was happy in his Dewan, what other Minister ever had the fortune to serve a Ruler so free from any jealousy of his Minister's fame, and so selflessly glad to give him the credit for what the complete understanding between them accomplished?

In Sir Mirza I made another friend from the days when he shared the young Maharaja's studies and we kept in touch, not only by correspondence, but personally during the time when he represented Mysore and other Indian States at the Round Table Conferences and as a delegate to the Joint Parliamentary Committee in London.

The new Dewan, *Rajamantrapravina* N. Madhava Rau, B.A., B.L., a member of the Mysore Civil Service, starts with the advantage of a thorough knowledge of the State, in which he has held high posts during the greatest period in its history. The Report under review relates, of course, to a period before Mr. Madhava Rau took office in June, 1941. But the address which he made to the Mysore Representative Assembly in June of this year gives ample proof of a very marked increase in the State's war effort, for which both the Maharaja and his new Minister

deserve every credit. Without going into details, which have been published elsewhere, a few items must be specifically mentioned. The Mysore State provided £100,000 to initiate the Mysore Squadron of the R. A. F., in which His Highness continues to take a great interest, and which has scored a remarkable number of successes in bringing down enemy planes. In September, 1941, he instructed Captain S. T. Binstead, the Mysore Trade Commissioner in London, to visit the Squadron and convey to its members the following message:

"I send my warmest greetings to the brave men from all parts of the Empire who are manning the Mysore Squadron, and my cordial congratulations on the magnificent successes they have already achieved. My birth just after the victorious conclusion of the last war caused Jaya or Victory to be made part of my name and my emblem is 'Gandabherunda,' the mightiest bird ever known. I wish Jaya or Victory in all your contests. I am sending each of you a badge of 'Gandabherunda' which I beg you to wear for my sake."

One of the Mysore infantry regiments served abroad, and the State's money contributions amount to many lakhs. But, even more important to the Allied cause, the whole of the industrial resources of the State with its modern equipment have been placed at the service of the King-Emperor. Gold, steel, timber, chrome, leather, paper, coffee, silk, granite and sandalwood are among Mysore's varied products. The great Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works and sixteen other industrial concerns are engaged directly in the manufacture of war supplies, the value of which in 1941 totalled Rs. 3¼ crores.

The spirit of this State and its leaders is illustrated by the successful formation in May last of a National War Front, with influential non-official gentlemen as organisers in the cities of Mysore and Bangalore and the Kolar

Gold Field, to mobilize the moral resources of the country so that the whole civil population may play its part in any emergency. The movement was inaugurated with an inspiring message from the Maharaja, and the Dewan exhorted the members of the Representative Assembly to spread the organization in their districts. The pledge, signed by Mr. Madhava Rau, sets an example of refreshing national realism to his countrymen everywhere, and runs as follows:

"Because I am proud to be a citizen of India, I solemnly pledge myself to stamp out defeatism and suppress alarmist rumours, to face and defy every peril threatening India's national honour and security, and work day by day in the sure and certain hope of victory."

Much has been heard lately of food difficulties in India. That these are being energitically faced in India is shown in Mr. Madhava Rau's speech in which he adjourned the autumn session of the Mysore Representative Assembly. The Government, he said, would not hesitate to finance any municipal or local body, any co-operative society or *bona fide* merchants' association which wished to serve the public by opening depots, or, if need be, open depots themselves for the stocking and sale of rice, ragi or jola, and also controlled articles such as sugar and kerosene oil.

The "Grow More Food" campaign has made considerable progress, and in recent months over 100,000 acres have been given out for cultivation.

Mysore is an asset to all India, and, whatever the future may hold, who but will join in wishing the young Prince god-speed in maintaining the prosperity of the people, the Government, and the institutions of his famous State?

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Prerequisites of Prosperity

Extracts from the Chairman's speech delivered by Mr. J. R. D. Tata at the Annual General Meeting of The Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited

26TH AUGUST 1954

These extracts constitute a plea for a new approach and fresh thought in regard to the relationship between the State and Free Enterprise as well as between Man and Machine. Dealing as they do with problems of more than ephemeral importance, it was felt that they should be made available in a convenient form for easy reference.

PREREQUISITES OF PROSPERITY

While the country is not yet wholly out of the woods, the fact that most of the unfavourable trends, so prominent during the 1946-52 years, have either been brought to a halt or reversed is something to be thankful for and reflects credit on Government's management of the country's financial and economic affairs in the last few years. I believe, however, that progress would have been greater and quicker if the private sector had, during these years, been in a position to make the full contribution of which it was capable to such progress.

The major stress in the First Five Year Plan having been laid on activities such as irrigation, power generation, agriculture, transport and social services, which form part of the public sector, the Second Five Year Plan will, I expect, lay greater stress on industrialisation, with which the private sector is mainly concerned. I have not the slightest doubt that, given reasonable encouragement, or at any rate freedom from

discouragement, the private sector will meet whatever targets are set for it under the Plan.

There are, however, some prerequisites. Members of Government and Parliament should, I respectfully suggest, cease giving the impression that the present policy of a mixed economy is a temporary affair and a mere step in the direction of full-fledged socialism or state capitalism. The size and shape of taxation should be such that industry is able to build up internal savings to be used for modernisation and expansion. The private sector should be given a chance to tap a reasonable proportion of the country's total savings.

More important perhaps than anything else is the need to shed certain preconceptions which have long coloured official and political thinking in our country. For instance: that the profit motive is dishonourable; that profit is synonymous with profiteering; that industrialists as a class are inefficient or dishonest or both; that about 3% net is a fair return on risk capital; that the population problem will solve itself; that mechanisation means unemployment; that it is more important to impoverish the rich than to enrich the poor; that a welfare state can be built without first creating the means to pay for it; that nationalisation creates additional wealth; that centralised State enterprise and management is socialism.

In this connection, I would call attention to a notable expression of views by a great socialist leader who can hardly be charged with pro-capitalist or anti-socialistic views. In the course of an article on the Bhoodan Movement published in July this year, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan had this to say:

> "In the present world the state, not only in its totalitarian form but also in its welfare variety, is assuming larger and larger powers and responsibilities. The welfare state, in the name of welfare, threatens as much to enslave man to the state as the totalitarian. The people must cry halt to this creeping paralysis. The fact that the welfare state is a creature of the people in the sense that it is set up by them does not affect the matter. The device of democratic elections cannot equate five hundred representatives with eighteen crores of the people, counting only the adults. To the extent the eighteen crores look after their affairs directly, to that extent the powers and functions of the state are restricted and real democracy is practised."

I would call attention also to the remarkable change which has taken place in the United Kingdom in the last year or so since official policies in the economic sphere have been re-oriented towards releasing and stimulating the

productive energies of business and industry and freeing them from the burden of bureaucratic controls and ideological uncertainties which had benumbed them since the war.

I am sure that if our own Government would similarly try for a while and within reasonable limits the experiment of freeing the private sector from its present handicaps and uncertainties, and allow it the necessary incentives and scope for initiative, they would be surprised at the results. No one would seriously suggest a return to complete laissez-faire in economic matters. Besides taking active part in expanding the economy, the State has to exercise general control over the economic activities of the country, to prevent undesirable trends, to provide essential services within society's capacity to bear them, and to protect the under-privileged. I submit, however, that these objects are not served best by policies which tend to paralyse enterprise and initiative, encourage low labour productivity and concentrate economic power in Government to a self-defeating extent.

In this context, the resolution on industrial policy passed at the recent session of the All-India Congress Committee in Ajmer and the remarks which our Prime Minister made on that occasion foreshadow a heartening change in approach. I sincerely hope that the lead given by the Congress in this resolution will soon be reflected in the economic policies of the Govern-

ment of India. I am sure they will not find the private sector wanting in its response.

Apart from the serious population aspects to which I have referred in previous speeches, India's economic problem is fundamentally one of production. The great power and irrigation schemes in the public sector and the steps taken by the Central and State Governments to encourage production in the fields of agriculture and cottage industries, are all to the good and are beginning to bear fruit. But the contribution which private sector could make to the expansion of India's economy, if given a fair chance to do so, is potentially as great. This, however, will require the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere in which the investor, his faith restored, is willing to risk his money; men of ability and vision, freed from uncertainties and inhibitions and from their present sense of frustration, are able to apply their energies and resources to constructive purposes, and labour, properly led and fortified by the recognition of its status and legitimate interests, contributes a full day's disciplined work to the common task.

At the same time those of us, however, who within the private sector bear the responsibility of industrial and financial management, should be clear about one thing. The adoption of a new outlook by Government towards the private sector, the confidence of the investor and the cooperation

of labour require that in the discharge of our responsibilities we show ourselves worthy of the trust placed in us. There is no place, in this great adventure on which our country has embarked, for the selfish and unworthy motives and the dishonest practices which have in some instances in the past tarnished the name of free enterprise.

MAN AND MACHINE

A high light of the past year of special concern to us was the sudden burst of interest in the problem of mechanisation in industry in relation to employment. With one or two welcome exceptions, including wise and constructive remarks by the Finance Minister and the Minister for Commerce & Industry, much of what was said in the course of a somewhat heated controversy between representatives of labour, Government, Parliament and employers disclosed a tragic misunderstanding of the real facts of the problem. This is so important a subject and one so pregnant with consequences to the future growth of our country that I feel I must devote a major part of my speech to it.

The debate on the relationship between man and machine is not a new one. It goes back to

the days, centuries ago, when men who made discoveries or inventions were burnt or stoned as sorcerers. It became acute in the nineteenth century when machines were destroyed and factories burnt in Britain and elsewhere in an attempt to arrest the progress of mechanisation. Even the sewing machine, mother's good friend of which Mahatma Gandhi spoke with affection, was smashed by enraged tailors in France when first introduced.

This age-old antagonism towards the machine is rooted in the belief that the mechanisation of industrial processes automatically leads to unemployment. The machine has in fact proved itself to be the greatest creator of jobs that ever existed.

In Britain, within a generation after textile workers had smashed spindles and power looms, ten times as many men were engaged in the textile industry as before these inventions.

In the U.S.A., where mechanisation has gone further than in any other country, gainful employment increased from eighteen million to over sixty million in the last sixty years. Between 1939 and 1953 alone, employment in manufacturing industries increased by 75%, notwithstanding the fact that it was in these very industries that mechanisation made the most spectacular advance.

A million jobs in the horse and carriage business have been replaced by six and a half million jobs in making, selling and servicing

automobiles. When the motor car was first developed and for some years thereafter, it was an expensive vehicle, largely built by hand and afforded by the wealthy few, and the industry had little impact on total employment. When however the automobile industry adopted intensive mechanisation under the pioneering leadership of Henry Ford, a revolutionary change took place. The new machines and methods made it possible to produce cars so quickly and cheaply that they were bought by millions of people instead of the few thousands who could afford them before. While hundreds of thousands found jobs in actually making cars, millions more found jobs in making, selling and repairing the thousand and one things needed to keep motorcars and trucks going, and in providing services to the people using them. The industries providing machines, power, fuel, oil, metals, rubber, road building equipment, transport, etc., expanded mightily, and each in turn employed more and more people. Thus, while fewer men were employed for building each car, total employment grew by leaps and bounds.

Surely, we do not have to go abroad for proof of the proposition that machines create employment. Can anyone question the fact that the few modern industries established in our country in the last century have created directly and indirectly hundreds of thousands of jobs that just did not exist and could not exist otherwise?

It is unfortunately often assumed that if the men at work today were allowed to continue to operate antiquated machines and processes, their employment would be secure. A notable refutation of this tendency to mistake stagnation for stability came recently from the Minister for Labour of Uttar Pradesh, who pointed out that during the last four years between ten and fifteen thousand workers in the leading textile centre of Kanpur had been retrenched, not because there had been rationalisation but precisely because there had been no rationalisation.

India, with its alarming increase in population can afford even less to be static in its approach to this problem than other countries. Millions of additional jobs have to be found in a hurry in industry and services to relieve the mounting pressure on the land. To attempt to do so with obsolete machinery and methods is to court disaster, for inefficient industries cannot survive for long.

The inadequate use of power tools, or the use of antiquated ones, perpetuates low productivity; low productivity leads to high costs and low wages; low wages keep down purchasing power and demand, and low demand enforces low production. This vicious circle is the main cause of the poverty of industrially backward countries such as ours. The only way to break through it and to achieve a higher standard of living for all is, through the use of modern equipment and methods, to produce more and

more goods more and more cheaply, and to pay those who produce them higher and higher wages.

In this connection, I should like to quote from the excellent report on small industries in India by the International Planning Team of the Ford Foundation. This is what the team says on the subject:—

> "Without rationalisation, the natural talents of Indian workers and craftsmen are being wasted in a hopeless race against modern technology. Unless and until these workers are helped to produce more goods and more wealth, neither wages nor living standards can be raised. 'You cannot divide what you do not first produce'.
>
> To prevent rationalisation, to stop the processes of modernisation, is not only illogical, it will force stagnation and retrogression of Indian small Industry.
>
> .....Perpetuation of inefficient outdated methods has more drastically reduced employment than any modernization could have done—and without opening prospects for the future.
>
> Modernization on the other hand creates employment. Improvements mean more and better products at lower and lower cost price, and result in greatly expanded demands and markets, and thus expanded job opportunities. Reluctance or failure to appreciate this concept is not only responsible for many of

the difficulties observed, but are real obstacles in the way of any organic effort toward improvement."

"Without modernization Indian industries which cling to obsolete equipment are condemned to mediocrity and eventual elimination. Only by adopting efficient methods of production, as soon and as widely as possible, can small and village industry take advantage of the opportunity it now has to lay a basis for a promising long term development."

All that I have said so far does not mean ıat I am unaware of the difficulties and ardships which hasty mechanisation may cause ı India if introduced without proper care and ıought in each case. Fortunately the problem ere is likely to be a temporary and relatively ınor one, for the following reasons. Resources vailable for the purpose are limited and must ıerefore be spread over a period of years. Large hemes of mechanisation take years to put into ffect. The normal process of retirement for reasons of old age, death and other causes, will help by providing vacancies which merely need not be filled. Finally, the many schemes of economic expansion under the Five Year Plans will provide ample opportunities to absorb the few who may be rendered surplus. For these reasons, and by careful planning and preparation, resort to actual retrenchment can be avoided or limited to rare occasions.

Managements desirous of putting through measures of mechanisation and modernisation have a number of obligations to fulfill. They must first ensure that they are themselves efficient and economical; they must make every effort to absorb as many redundant men as possible in other jobs; they must help the State, wherever possible, in the re-training of those rendered surplus who cannot immediately find altenative jobs in their existing trades; they must be ready to pay generous compensation to those few whom it may not be possible to retain in employment; finally, they must show an unequivocal readiness to share with the smaller number of employees that remain and with the consumer the benefits of cheaper production.

The real problem—largely a psychological one—is to secure acceptance of the change by labour. In the United States, trade unions not only accept as necessary a continuous process of technological improvements in industry but often actually encourage it and share responsibility in carrying it out. Union executives there have fully realised the fact that the best job security to their members lies in sound cost reducing programmes.

In appealing to labour leadership in India to consider this problem objectively and scientifically, and, wherever possible, in friendly cooperation with management, I would ask them to keep in

mind three important considerations: first, that throughout the world the machine has brought human beings miraculous relief from the toil, sweat and drudgery which they have endured for thousands of years: second, that it has brought about a phenomenal rise in wages which have remained low only where the machine is used insufficiently or not at all: third, that, in conjunction with modern methods and processes, it has made possible an enormous increase in production at much reduced cost, the benefits of which have gone to the whole community. Thus, opponents of modernisation in industry should realise that the acceptance of their views would not only deprive the very workers whose interests they seek to promote of the chance to cast off their age-old back-breaking burden and to earn progressively higher wages, but would also deprive the entire population of the immense benefits of increased production and lower prices.

In closing my remarks on this vital subject, I would urge all those concerned to face the fact that the choice before us is not between modern industry and old fashioned industry, but between modern industry and no industry at all. There is no half way house. Either we shall build a highly productive and happy society in which workers have, thanks to the machine, regained their dignity, or we shall sink back into a primitive form of society, condemned by the inexorable increase in our population to growing poverty and despair.

Ashfaque Husain

42: Canning Lane
New Delhi 1
13 Jan 1959.

The Editor,
The Hindu,
Mount Road,
MADRAS.

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith for publication, if you may consider it appropriate, a letter with reference to Mr. Iswara Dutt's article in today's issue on the late Sir M. Mirza Ismail.

I am suggesting that only my initials (AH) may be published and not my name, because I happen to be in Government Service and would not normally take part in any such controversy. I have, however, been compelled to write, because I happen to have known Sir Mirza Ismail rather intimately and to have acquired a very warm regard and respect for him.

Yours faithfully,

(Ashfaque Husain)

kss.
Encl:(1).

13 Jan 59

It was with poignant pleasure that I, like so many others who admired and respected Sir M.Mirza Ismail, read Mr.Iswara Dutt's tribute to him in today's Hindu.

As Sir Mirza Ismail himself fully realised, he did not entirely fit into the new conditions that very naturally followed immediately upon Independence. For this it would be unrealistic and futile to apportion blame. We must accept it as an inevitable fact and regret that it should have been so, because it deprived the country, at a time of dire need, of the services of one of her ablest and truest sons. It is also unfortunate that a whole generation has grown up unaware of the services and character of such a person as Sir Mirza Ismail, who could in so many respects be a source of inspiration to those who want to contribute their little to raising their country ~~Motherland~~ to heights of real greatness and nobility.

The time is not yet to make a full assessment of Sir Mirza Ismail's personality and contribution, but there are one or two points to which I should like to refer very briefly with reference to Mr.Iswara Dutt's article. He mentions Sir Mirza Ismail's "amiable weakness" that he was "essentially - and unabashedly - a Mysorean". In case this may cause any misunderstanding, I should like to add that he was very <u>essentially</u> a Mysorean, an Indian, a Muslim and a citizen of the world and there was no reason for him to be abashed about any one of these facets of his personality because they were all true and, far from their being in conflict with each other, they enriched and ennobled the rare personality that we knew by the name of Sir Mirza Ismail.

Mr. Iswara Dutt has referred to Sir Mirza Ismail's rule in the tragic drama of Hyderabad in 1947 & 1948 and said that when "he saw the writing on the wall, he cleared out, leaving the Nizam to his Razakars and to darkness". I am afraid Mr. Iswara Dutt is not aware of the correct facts and has unwittingly made a statement which is capable of being seriously misconstrued. I happen to have had the opportunity of acquainting myself with the facts relating to this particular aspect of the Hyderabad affair on the basis of primary evidence, and I regard it as my duty, in fairness to Sir Mirza Ismail's memory and as a matter of putting historical facts right, to state categorically that the position was entirely different from what one might imagine from Mr. Iswara Dutt's statement. Sir Mirza Ismail did not leave the Nizam to Razakars and "darkness". He did not quit a sinking ship; he did not run away from a difficult situation; he was virtually forced to leave and was, to put it very mildly, not a persona grata with those then in power in Hyderabad. Nevertheless he continued, right upto the time of the Police Action, to try to make the Nizam see reason and to persuade him to act in accordance with the true interests not only of the country but also of Hyderabad itself. Far from leaving the Nizam to his fate, no human being could have made a greater effort to save him from himself as well as from the forces of darkness which surrounded him.

Yours etc.
AH

Address to the Young European Group.

I do not imagine that you desire from me a piece of political analysis, but rather that you seek to help in the solving of our problems by the genial processes of friendly and candid conversation. The most wonderful politcal solvent, indeed, is simple, unpremeditated talk about matters and enthusiasms that have nothing whatever to do with politics, and the most decisive moments may well be those in which even such conversation droops in the blessed silence of mutual understanding. In our present problems there are many matters of the most intricate intellectual difficulty, and matters of profoundly contending emotion. These, I think, are beyond our present after-dinner purpose. They require long and severe debate, a stringent discipline of thought and feeling, constant reference to the detail which experts provide. I think that here we are intent rather upon forwarding the work upon which we are seeking to establish that

[bent merely on providing for] goodwill on an unshakable foundation of mutual respect, liking and trust. And this is actually a still more important aim than that of any conference and committee.

Therefore my single word to you is this.

The intuition, the deeply sympathetic imagination, of this 'Young European Group' has found the root of all our ~~XXXXXX~~ maladies, which root is simply an ignorant and obstinate distrust. You are seeking to destroy it by the only weapon that can ever reach it -the keen, bright sword of sincerity. It is impossibly evc for you to realise the significance and value of what you are doing. You are living in a country where in one respect at least all classes of men are philosophers. They can never s e a thin~ in isolation: they leap to the univer sal. Just as, if you tell your cook you rather like a particular dish, you will have that dish daily for ever, so if an Indian meets with a discourtesy from a European, in a railway train for example, that is likely so to blacken the race in his eyes that it will be difficult for him ever t change his conception. Here is a group of Europeans that cares about the Indian people and shows an absolutely disinterested desire to understand and co-operate with them. The impression thus made throughout India is incalculable. Needless to say, I do not mean that this is a unique pehenomenon. As a matter of fact, there are a number of European

groups showing the same spirit. But there is something unique in the deliberate and purposeful way in which you have stood forward. You are good citizens of this country, and time will show that you are preservers of empire in the noblest sense of that word.

To those who so well understand it I need not enlarge on the paramountcy of goodwill. In every sphere, ill-will, and what is still more deadly, the groundless suspicion of another's ill-will, have been proving fatal even to selfish interests. A striking example is the rabid campaign in this country against British trade -a campaign legitimate in so far as it is protective of Indian trade and in so far as it operates universally against foreign importers, but we all know how far beyond that ill-will, and the suspicion of ill-will, has driven it. Rank and unreasoning ill-will is at the very heart of our problems of internal reconciliation, and without goodwill, a genuine desire for reconciliation, those problems will never be solved. As between England and India, not only is sheer goodwill the most important reconciling and adapting power, but the most crucial test of the success or failure of the round table conference will be not

so much the details of political arrangement as as the ~~XXXXXXXX~~ mere feeling towards each other in ~~which~~ the new constitutional devices will leave the English and Indian peoples.

When we look round this country to-day, it is hard to conceive of a united India, functioning gladly as a vital part of the British Empire. Yet if this is not ~~XXXXX~~ achieved we shall have failed completely, and in our failure deprivedthe world of the greatest enrichment possible to it in this generation. I solemnly assert that there ~~is~~ can be no secure and prosperous India except within that empire partnership, and that further, ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXX~~ this co-operation between England and India is absolutely essential to world-unity and the progress of civilisation. To this end you are playing your part, for which we thank and honour you.

At the moment, the central preoccupation of the states is their future relations with British India. No one can travel in India to-day without becoming aware of the inevitable effect of education, the press, the radio, political propaganda, economic development and of constitutional changes in British India itself on the inhabitants of the States and of the growing interest which public opinion in British India was taking in the future of the States. I have long been a firm, indeed an enthusiastic, supporter of the principle of Federation. When I look at what the division of Europe into twenty-five sovereignties has cost its people in war and frustration and poverty, when I consider that self-governing institutions will strengthen rather than weaken separatist tendencies in India, as they had done everywhere else in the world, unless there is also organic union at the top, I cannot escape the conclusion that the inauguration of Federation at the same time as the principle of responsible government is established in British India and at the Centre, is absolutely vital to the peace and progressive development of all parts of India alike. Opinions may differ as to the precise form the Federation should take. I have criticisms to make of the Act myslef. But that India ought to move forward to a new age as an organic whole is not, I think, open to dispute. I hope, therefore, that the Princes will decide for federation in the near future by an overhelming majority. Nothing else but acceptance of the principle that British India and the States are going to move forward in some organic relationship to one another, based on mutual confidence, can prevent the most dangerous and revolutionary conflicts arising between them in the future.

But that is only half the problem. Nothing was more striking to-day than the way in which the question of constitutional reform within the States and therefore the question of the manner in which the Ruler will appoint the representatives

of the State in the Federal Legislature, questions which were hardly discussed when I was in India six years before, have recently come to the front. I do not propose to discuss this matter to-night because I am far less familiar with conditions inside the States than I am with conditions in British India and because conditions vary widely between one State and another. But I would invite the attention of those who wield power in the states to the illuminating experience of the British Crown in very similar circumstances in the past. I think it contains real lessons.

You will remember that the two great cultural and religious movements known as the Renaissance and the Reformation coupled with the discovery of the New World challenged in the fifteenth century the mediaeval structure of society and the absolute authority both of priest and king. Something very like these movements have been at work in India in the last fifty years. The Tudors were the last dynasty in England to wield absolute power, though Queen Elizabeth was extraordinarily careful to test a dawning public opinion before she began to act. But the Stuart Kings, and especially Charles 1, fell back upon the doctrine of the divine right of Kings and resisted the claim of their subjects, expressed through Parliament, to have an effective voince in the conduct of public affairs. So fierce did the struggle become that it ended in civil war. And then, because the issue was settled by violence, the pendulum swung too far the other way. The King was beheaded and his dynasty dethroned. But Parliament was not yet ready to govern and Cromwell, a man of genius, established a personal dictatorship in the interest of unity and order. But when Cromwell died the pendulum swung back again to monarchial autocracy until, twentyeight years later, the Stuart dynasty was finally overthrown and the basis of Parliamentary system was well and truly laid in the Bill of Rights, which secured civil liberty and rights to the

individual and the constitutional convention which ensured that the King in choosing his Ministers had to choose men who had the confidence of Parliament also.

This, of course, was the first experiement in the Parliamentary system. It took long to work out and there were ups and downs until it reached its full fruition in the days of Queen Victoria. But the essential principles upon which it rests are, I believe, unassailable, and are entirely applicable as the solution of the conflicts and difficulties which are now increasingly liable to arise in the Indian States. They ensure that the whole body of executive and governmental experience embodied in the throne is kept intact, yet that this experience is increasingly tempered by constant association with those who represent and understand the needs of the people, and that responsibility for government is shared as experience and the sense of responsibility grows in the Legislature. No other system has been so successful in enlarging the liberties of the subject, in preventing violent political colleisions, in bringing about constitutional evolution, yet in maintaining the influence and popularity of the throne. Never has the British Crown been more respected and popular than it is to-day. Yet never has democracy been more fully realised. I do not think that those who are responsible for directing the affairs of the States in the next few difficult years can do better than to study and to grasp the evolution of the powers and states of the British Crown and apply its lessons to the problems of their States.

I express this hope because I believe that the Indian States have a part to play in the development of India. One of the didficulties in British India in finding the way of transfering power and responsibility from British to Indian hands has lain in the fact that the Briton comes from a foreig land and that power resides in Downing Street. This fact has inevitabley inflamed national feeling and made for misunderstanding and friction between the two sides. But this alien factor

does not arise in the Indian States, at any rate to anything like the same extent. Ruler and ruled belong to the same nation and live permanently in the same country. As the process of constitutional development takes place I think that the gradual transition will prove more friendly and easy than has sometimes been the case in British India.

This brings to the last thing I have to say. There have been recently some political distrubances inwwhat is,perhaps the best governed state in India. These things occur in the best regulated families. But if the right lessons are drawn from them they end in good rather thanwevil. The official order of the Mysore State Government issued on the 17th of May seems to me to reflect exactly the right spirit. It is based on no abstract theory. It deals with the facts and deals with them in a practical and conciliatory way, It is in the true constitutional tradition and Ihave no doubt that when the report of the now enlarged Mysore Committee on constitutional reforms comes to be published its recommendations will be handled in that practical, constructive, progressive and tolerant spirit we are accustomed to expect from His Highness the Maharajah and his remarkable Diwan Sir Mirza Ismail. If so Mysore may show the road in the constitutional sphere as it has already so amply done in the administrative and social sphere.

It is of very great importance to India – and indeed to the whole Empire – that every British citizen should endeavour to understand the issues, if not all the details, of the India problem. History shows many examples of subjected peoples seeking liberation from foreign domination. But has there been, anywhere, a case like this – where the foreign rulers have deliberately sought to further this liberation and as far as may be to hasten it? The statement of Mr Montagu, which stands by any parallel in the British state, was quite unprecedented. The development of self-governing institutions – the progressive realisation of responsible government – towards these ends the British Government in India has consistently been working; and any doubt as to sincerity cannot have been caused by the Viceroy's statement, last year, that the actual issue of India constitutional progress, as contemplated in the 1917 declaration, is the attainment by India of "Dominion Status". It is not possible for any judgment at once well-informed and unprejudiced, to question the sincerity of this purpose on the part of Britain. But can any Indian who calmly considers the human con-

population of India and the nature of the internal and external problems, will an independence that goes beyond this promise. And indeed the liberty of a Dominion is absolute; and that an attempt at secession by "independence" would prove to be not a means towards liberty but an initiation into many kinds of chaos and even bondage. Nothing the contrary, and very probably such constitutional to an external force as India has certainly never known under England. The security of the subcontinent, the sea, the eclipse, is one of Britain's great gifts to India, and the Nationalists cannot risk its loss.

On the other hand, no Englishman should be deluded by the idea that because nationalism is now expressing itself in an impossible extremism of demand, that nationalism itself is unreal or unpopular. We must get rid of some misconceived ideas on this point. It is constantly said that the Indian nationalists are just an educated handful, that the "toiling millions" are by no means concerned with the aspirations they express. Certainly the masses are both untaught and inarticulate. But great events — and perhaps the ignoring of recent events by the Simon Commission is not long vision after all — have shown how they can be worked upon, and whatever may have been the means of this

working, it has attached sincerely not only to a
fanciful self-interest but to a genuine patriotism.
Similarly, the action of a particular area or religion, for
example, may obstruct form, or resist, the demands
of extreme nationalism because of fears as to their
own fate, but nevertheless they are as truly
nationalist as anyone. Again, the unfitting influence
of the British Government and Congress has been
such that at last the term nation has become
applicable, with real significance, to India; and
every thought of delicacy and rivalry disappears
in the new habit of thinking primarily of oneself
as an Indian. This national consciousness has
spread rapidly, and will spread much more rapidly
now. By itself, above all else, must define
its national power. It is neither a creation,
nor restrained by restraint. It is the life of
India's future. Its dangers are, first, an
exuberance that does not exist in reason; and
second, an overtheorizing of it that could
divert it to evil from its great chance of
good. What I wish to emphasize is
the reality, scope and force of this Indian
nationalism. It speaks at present with
varied voices and in terms not reconcilable
with each other. At present its loudest and
least-reasoned cry is — independence, that

from the Empire." But you will realise how natural it is that any, from whom she felt within them a force they have not yet been allowed to exercise. And you must give no heed to the idea that the man who is the least patriotic strife may be intolerable idea or rather unreasonable or dishonest, and could not themselves be satisfied with administration. It is a very old fact of the human story that the artist, soothed and induced by the satisfaction to him of high responsibility, may attain of his artistic only its arrogance, its devotion, its power.

It is perfectly clear that, were India severed from the British Empire, she would lose speedily, and to the accompaniment of manifold disasters, even such unity and such national consciousness as she has now attained. Thus the extreme of nationalism is profoundly anti-national. It is not entirely, though it is largely, a matter of security. There is something in the spirit of the Empire — a very different thing from imperialism — that is of inestimable value to India. The spirit of tolerance, the force and habit of mutual adjustment, the sense of proportion that comes of age-long and world-wide effort and vicissitude — these things are among the great assets of India, and have not been taught her by her own history.

but an already growing trust has association with the Empire. Willing and responsible participation within the Empire is necessary to India's own future. And might I say also that the future of the Empire also depends largely upon India's effective? Never in the world's history has there been such an opportunity as now awaits us, despite difficulties that might well seem insurmountable, save to supreme wisdom, faith & courage. Now for the first time, if we are rightly guided, the East & the West may meet and unite, the one enriching and fertilizing the other towards a united strength that may well bring in a new era of civilization.

In the mind of India there are aspirations strongly interested with western questionings, within her heart & heart (with though the casual observer might at least think it!) a fierce, born of independent understanding, that ~~there may well~~ ~~main mind being~~ for which the West is waiting with wondering restlessness. To what heights might not India rise, could but the western & the eastern world unite their so profoundly differing splendors, wisdom & power?

Your visit is most welcome to me. It is clear that the members of the are making a very earnest effort to ~~xxxxxx~~ bring about ~~x~~ closer unity and co-operation both in this State and beyond. And what is most significant is that in trying to ~~b~~ away with religious antagonisms, you are working in the very name of religion itself. Differing from each other in doctrine, you have nevertheless understood, by your own religious practice and experience, the wide charity of Heaven and the fact of our human brotherhood. When religion begins to foster hostility, it has become irreligion. When it is used to sanctify a secular struggle, this is blasphemy. And ~~xhatx~~ what we most need now is not that any man should forget his own religion but rather that he should understand it better and surrender himself to its true spirit of goodwill towards all men.

It is the present task of all of us to strive for the most satisfactory economic and political adjustment in this State and country. We have in

Hyderabad's great opportunity for such harmony of progressive planning as might well be an example everywhere. It is the keen desire of His Exalted Highness that throughout his dominions there should be equality of opportunity and encouragement, an equal prosperity and happiness according to personal desert, a complete absence of suspicion, fear and hostility. His Government has no other aim; and ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ it relies upon the copeperation of all sections of the people, -co-operation with the Government and with each other.

To this endeavour you bring a religious inspiration. I believe that your ideals and your influence will prove most valuable to the state and its people.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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Plan [illegible]

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[illegible]

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An brief note on the Suez Canal dispute.

(a) Egypt's sovereignty over the Canal should be formally recognized and also its ownership (subject to the payment of adequate compensation to the Canal Company).

(b) An advisory body of ~~four~~ seven persons (or perhaps more) should be set up. Egypt is running the Canal, Egypt has immediate control of it. For practical it is her property (though others may not quite ~~[illegible]~~ rightly be shown in the rule and employment of it).

The function of the board would be to advise Egypt in the operation and administration of the Waterway as to make suggestions on all matters affecting it. Egypt would be expected to accept its advice; other differences of opinion arising may still be referred to an arbitral Commission, under the International Court of The Hague, for final adjudication. Governments have to be taken to be sufficiently experienced in dealing with the best possible advisory. The board is not a Council. The advisory body [illegible] practically [illegible] supervisory body.

or this would be represented, the U.S.A., the U.K., or France, with three or more other countries, like India, Sweden or Australia or even Russia (It might not be possible to keep her out).

This plan would, it seems to me, go a long way to satisfy Egypt's amour propre while placing the effective control of the Canal in the hands of an international body.

I happened to discuss this question with the Egyptian Ambassador in Brussels a few days ago. I explained the proposal to him as he appears to think that it would be acceptable to his Government.

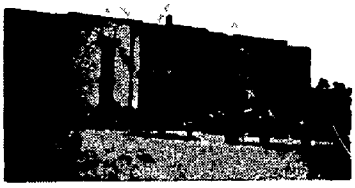
I am afraid the latest idea of an association of ~~[illegible]~~ nations is hardly likely to be accepted by Egypt for it would directly affect her dignity & would certainly amount to the abandonment of control over the Waterway. I don't think it should be forced on her. A peaceful, long-term & really workable solution is the aim; and this is world opinion which has also to be satisfied.

3

a proper solution of the problem which would be man, nevertheless, a matter relating with Egypt but Nasser will have to give up his franchise ambition.

MJ

15th Sept 1956.



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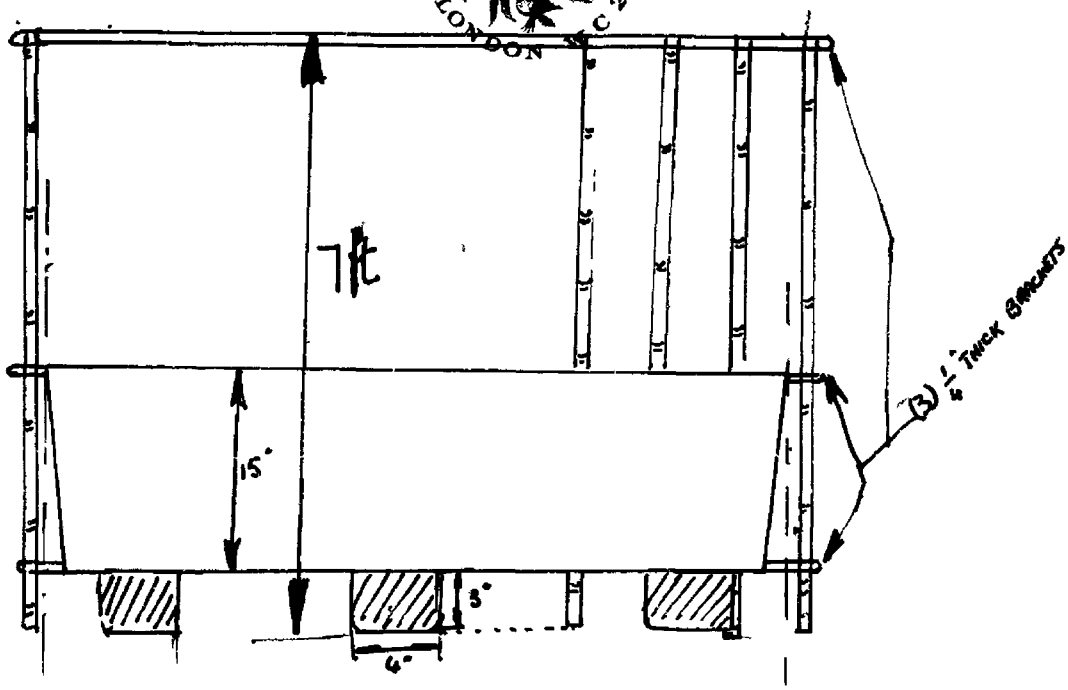

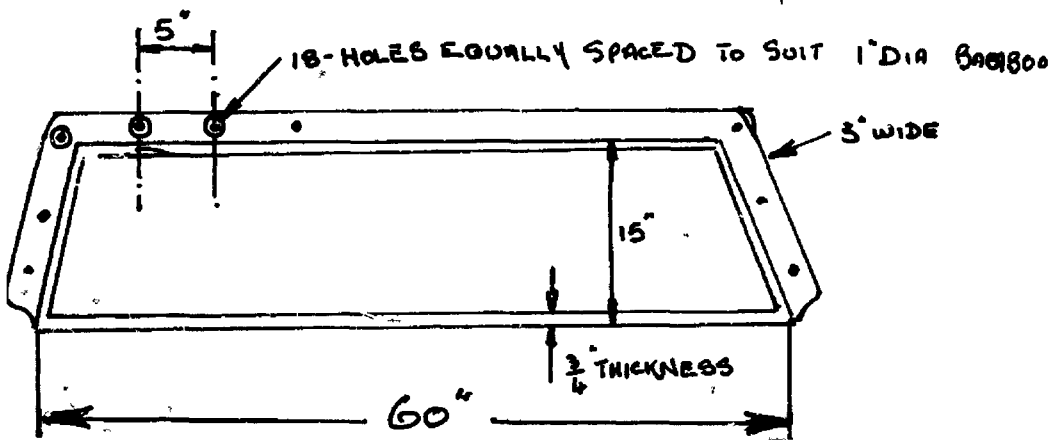

It seems to me that the general policy and attitude of the Kremlin towards the West may be expected to undergo a marked change as a result of its realization of the growing power and influence of China. The Kaiser's bogey of the Yellow Peril will raise its head once again and loom large on the Russian horizon.

The emergence of a new, self-conscious, and assertive Asia and Africa, with their suspicion and dislike of the West which represents the white races of the world, will induce the Kremlin to revise its policy and to look more to the West than to the East for friends and allies. Time and Reality, its faithful ally, will blunt the edge of old animosities and change Kremlin's outlook for the better.

The Peking Government cannot be expected to remain much longer a docile instrument of Russian policy and a subservient partner in an unnatural alliance. It is now entirely dependent upon Soviet Russia for its military necessities. It is this more than anything else that has hitherto, in my view, kept Peking tied to Moscow's apron strings. She will be more inclined to cultivate friendly relations with the Western nations and less dependent on her Soviet neighbour once the Formosa question is got out of the way.

A feeling of coloured versus white races is likely to be engendered by the Bandoeng Conference, although all the countries participating in it may not share that feeling. The general trend, however, will persist in that direction among the majority of the countries, represented at the Bandoeng Conference.

China will gravitate more towards other Asian nations, thanks to SEATO, which has effectively discouraged any ambition she may have had of expanding towards the South or South East.

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The Peking Government cannot be expected to remain much longer a docile instrument of Russian policy and a subordinate partner in an unnatural alliance. It is now entirely dependent upon Soviet Russia for its military necessities. It is this more than anything else that has hitherto, in my view, kept Peking tied to Moscow's apron strings. She will be more inclined to cultivate friendly relations with the Western nations and less dependent on her Soviet neighbour once the Formosa question is got out of the way.

A feeling of coloured versus white races is likely to be engendered by the Bandoeng Conference, although all the countries participating in it may not share that feeling. The general trend, however, will persist in that direction among the majority of the countries, represented at the Bandoeng Conference.

China will gravitate more towards other Asian nations, thanks to SEATO which has effectively discouraged any ambition she may have had of expanding towards the South of the South-East.

M. I.
20- 3- 1955.

Telegrams :—"NANDI HILLS"
NANDI, (M.S.R.)

Nandi Hill Station

(POPULAR SUMMER RESORT)

NANDI, 29. 3. 52
(MYSORE STATE)

Sub:

To,

Mr. K. Shanthaviva
Windsor Lodge
2, Ali Asker Road
Bangalore.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 27th inst. I could have furnished the information required by Sri. Mirza M. Ismail long ago if it was ~~to furnish~~ the dates and the duration of the visits of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah & the extracts from the visitors book. I was under the impression that a detailed history of their visits and important events connected with that were required. It would naturally take some time to do that and the matter with most labour less than a month. Now as I am in the middle of the season I could not devote much time to it. When I find some leisure after the season I will certainly write a brief history & will furnish a copy in which I may have to make some references about Sri. Mirza M. Ismail and of his able administration

P. T. O.

as often mentioned to me by those great people during their conversation.

Herein enclosed the extracts of the visitors book & the period of their stay.

Kindly convey my regards to Sir. Mirza & Ismail & may God give him good health. —.

Yours sincerely,

B.A. Swaminathan

Extracts from the visitors book in Nandi Hill Station of the visit of Mahatma Gandhi during his stay for the full month of May 1936. Signed by his Secretary, Sri. Mahadev Desai.

"Many thanks for all the kindness received during Gandhiji's stay on the Hill in May 1936." ——.

Sd/ Mahadev Desai.
31. 5. 36.

Copy.

R.O. (W.)

Extracts from the visitors book in Namaqua Station of Rev. Dr. A. Truman, during his stay from 4th May 1941 to 18th May 1941.

"

I received all the attention and kindness from all the staff & the superintendent in charge during my stay here. This is a very charming spot for quite rest and I was made as comfortable as it was possible.

Sd/ Dr. A. Truman.
18. 5. 41.

'Copy'

Swb

The passing of the Maharaja, in 1940, plunged the State in grief. To all his subjects, high or low, rich or poor, of all castes and creeds, he had become an object of almost sacred veneration. And messages of sympathy came not only from all parts of India but from many other parts of the world. To me, his death was the greatest sorrow I have known in my life.

A devout Hindu, who lived his religion every day of his life, His Highness took genuine pleasure in helping others to practise their faiths. I had the privilege of being intimately associated with him for nearly half a century. Never in all that period did he trust me less or treat me differently because I was a follower of another faith. Several Catholic nuns from the Mysore Convent worked in the palace as teachers or companions to the ladies of the family. Throughout the State there was the same spirit of tolerance and friendship among the people, and this was due to the extraordinary influence exercised by so wise and benevolent a ruler. The attachment of every caste and creed to his person and throne was deep and sincere. The Maharaja was very fond -- all too fond -- of hard exercise. He particularly loved mountain climbing. He did the pilgrimage to Badrinath in the Himalayas on foot, and also went to Manasarowar in Tibet. He played racquets regularly. Violent exercise, taken day after day, eventually weakened his heart. On the morning of a severe heart attack he had exercised five horses on the racecourse. When ill, he would not rest in bed despite his doctors' insistent advice.

Purity of soul, kindness of heart, generosity of disposition, patience and tolerance, a wise judgment of men and affairs -- these are qualities which His Highness possessed in an eminent degree. It has been given to few, but to him it was given, to pass through life making only friends, no enemies. I am sure that history will record his name among the greatest in India's history. At a memorial service held in London when he died, Lord Samual compared him to Asoka, and the same eminent statesman wrote to me, "The princes are few, either in our own day or in the past history, who have used the opportunities of their position so wisely and so well as he, or have conferred such great benefits on so vast a population."

"SWARAJYA" - May 3, 1958.

AMERICAN ASSESSMENT OF NEHRU.

x x x

Attitudes toward Nehru do not always conform to attitudes about the policy of "non-alignment" (i.e., with either Russia or the U.S.A.) with which he is so closely identified.

There is a big difference between approving the idea of non-alignment and approving the way in which Nehru is carrying it out. The fact is that a majority of those who approve the idea, think that Indian non-alignment, wisely pursued, would be a good idea not only for India, but for the U.S.A. as well. What worries most of Nehru's friends and angers all his foes is the way in which he seems to have let this good idea slip away from him.

Among Nehru's most hostile critics, 6 of the 22 are clearly "liberal" and 2 of these are individuals with extensive and sympathetic contact with Indian affairs. Consider this view by a well known writer long identified by his strong sympathy for India and its leaders.

> "I did admire Nehru, until 1946. Through his autobiography, his role in the independence struggle, he established himself as an attractive, brilliant, progressive idealist. But look at the things he has done since he got to power. He is moved by political expediency, is not always the idealist or man of principle. I now regard him simply as a politician. He is too vain, too much of an actor, too weak, and I think, has a power lust. He is a transposed English intellectual, a Kingsley Martin in power."

Or finally, this comment by a former high-placed government official.

> "I am not an admirer of Nehru, though it took me a long time to conclude that the idea of Nehru as a great dedicated soul, motivated in all his acts by noble and virtuous sentiments, was a myth. Nehru is really motivated by expediency. If Nehru did previously possess these virtues, they are now corroded, changed. I now have a great mistrust of Nehru's leadership. There is too much information about the low level of his thinking and his motivations.

- P.G. Krishnayya's Service.

ANTI-DIABETES DRUG.

It is proving effective in cases of many adults.

Dr. Henry Dolger, chief of the diabetes clinic at Mount Sinai Hospital, New York, told the national meeting of the American Chemical Society at San Francisco that the oral anti-diabetes drug named Orinase has demonstrated the existence of two distinct type of diabetes.

By proving itself effective in more than 50 per cent of the adult diabetic population, Dr. Dolger said, the new drug points up the fact that there are two distinct categories of diabetes patients: those whose pancreases are capable of producing insulin but who suffer from an insulin deficiency because of interference with its proper liberation or use, and those whose pancreases are incapable of producing insulin.

Treatment with Orinase, Dr. Dolger reported, stimulates the production of insulin in a large percentage of adult diabetics -- especially those who have developed the disease in middle or old age. On the other hand, juvenile diabetics, who acquire the disease in childhood, have no inherent insulin available, and thus do not respond to Orinase.

More than 300,000 diabetic patients in this country are now using Orinase successfully, he said. Future expansion to include three-fourths of all diabetic patients of the adult type will eventually make the number of users rise to about a million, Dr. Dolger predicted.

N. Y. Times,
April 30, 1958.

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N. Y. Times.
April 20, 1958.

Pakistan has not been able to settle its new constitution yet, but a declaration has been made that Pakistan is to be an Islamic Republic. That is clearly in my view and in that of many others both unwise and unnecessary, and I venture to add, unjustifiable, when we consider the large Hindu minority that forms part of its population. Such a declaration cannot but cause irritation, if not concern, to the Hindus, both in Pakistan and in India. Care will no doubt be taken to provide sufficient safeguards for the benefit of this minority, but the feeling must persist that they are only second-class citizens as compared with the Muslim majority.

I regret, too, that Pakistan should have decided to declare herself a republic at all. A status that is good enough for Canada and Australia should have been good enough for her (even though the same racial affinity does not exist in her case as in that of these), at least until the country's future was firmly secured.

November 21, 1955.

I write this just to relieve myself. I am greatly distressed by the way things are going on in our country. Is there any duty for a man like me in this situation ? What is it ?

There is recklessness in Government spending; public burdens are on the increase; taxation has reached breaking point; waste is enormous. This on one side. On another side foundations of an old and well-established economy are pulled down; impious hands are laid upon socio-religious and personal laws; attacks are made openly by men in power upon cherished beliefs and customs without the least necessity therefor from the public point of view. On the third side the face of the country is being meddled with. Old historic landmarks are wantonly obliterated. It looks as though nothing whatever was ever right in this land before the coming of Nehru-raj. On the fourth side there is an appalling degree of demoralization in all circles and all ranks. We are asked to live on slogans. The biggest among us stoop to surrender their judgment before the powerful. Flaccidity of mind and hollowness of character and Pecksniffism in speech are becoming the rule of success. This is my finding. Are my eyes mistaken ? Am I alone in this experience ?

I won't refer to corruption; it is rampant among public men as among officials; not money only, office, job, concession, trade permits, admission to school or college -- all this is in trade, and more that cannot be mentioned, as the price for vote and party support. Even God is part of the stock in trade. Is there to be no correcting of all this ? Who will do it ? How ?

The present provocation to me is the decision to kill Mysore. I don't deny that a great many among the Princes deserved the fate that swallowed them. But Mysore's Princes never deserved it. But let the question of the Prince stand aside. What about the people ? Their position will be made distinctly worse, and that for no fault of theirs. Their legislature is throttled when it has opened its lips. The Congress High Command fear opposition and decide to suppress it before it has spoken out. Whatever the merits of the matter, are we honest in professing democracy when our men in power exhibit such intolerance of opposition even before it has expressed itself ? What else is dictatorship ?

Great as Nehru's gifts are, and greatly as I admire him for his energy and his general high-mindedness, I cannot help saying that his popularity is a positive menace to the peace and well-being of those who are not within his circle. His international policy is praised; and I agree. But I also hold that no other policy would have been possible to any one who is not a complete fool or a complete knave.

I am in grief because Mysore is to be wiped out from the map. To me it was a shining example of what Indian statesmanship could achieve in the modern age, handicapped as it was. I am sure there are many who share this grief even outside Mysore. But my question now is not as to what should be done about Mysore. Our ancestors bowed to the command of a Raja or a Sultan, an Agnimitra or a Toghlak. We are accustomed to autocracy and can swallow Delhi's fiats without a squirm. But what about the democracy postulated by the Constitution and boastfully mouthed by the all-powerful ? I am even willing to agree that democracy will not suit this climate and that nothing thrives so well as autocracy on this soil. But I insist that we should be honest. This habit of putting up fashionable frontages and hugging pious pretences is eating into the vitals of our moral being. We have been earning entry into the Heaven of the hypocrite.

If my agitation is without reasonable ground and all is really as it ought to be, let me say I shall be grateful to have that assurance from you. I am troubled only to understand whether I have any duty in the situation and what its shape is. Of course this is all private and confidential correspondence.

Sir Mirza told me of the kindness of your references to me.

WEST BENGAL CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION
REGISTERED UNDER SOCIETIES REGISTRATION ACT XXI OF 1860

Head Office : Asoke Park Tollygunge,
Calcutta - 33.

Phone: Alipore 2697.

City Office: 6/I Commissariat Road,
Hastings, Calcutta-22.

Dated, 1st Nov. 54.

By special messenger.

The Prime Minister of India,
Government House,
Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

Re: Proposed amendment to the Constitution.

I have taken advantage of your presence in Calcutta to deliver to your the following:

1. The original of my open letter to you of the 15th ultimo with enclosure.
2. A newspaper cutting of a letter of the 14th ultimo to Statesman and a copy of my own to the Editor of the same paper.
3. An article prepared by one of my colleques focussing your attention to the problems at issue.
4. A copy of a letter by one of my colleques to the Statesman Editor of 29th ultimo for publication.

I shall be glad if you will give me an opportunity to meet you and/or the others interested in amending the Constitution before exploring the alternative and better ways of achieving the purpose we all have at heart.

I shall be glad to have your reply at a very early date.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- N.L. Sarkar
President West Bengal Citizens Assn.

Encl:

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Yours faithfully,

Sd/- H.L. Sarkar
President West Bengal Citizens Assn.

Encl:

15-10-54.

The Prime Minister, of India,
Government House (Camp),
Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

Amendment to Article 31 of the Constitution:
An Open Letter

I enclose herewith a copy of my representation to Hon'ble Shree Ajit Prasad Jain on 12-7-54. I learned a few days back that it is receiving attention. I have asked for an interview with Shree Meherchand Khanna, the Adviser to Refugee. Rehabilitation to have an opportunity to implement my offer.

Meantime I saw in the papers that on the occasion of inaugurating the Vaitarana Water Project in Bombay on the 6th instant you stated as under:-

"Many people are of the view that the consitituion is sacred and should not be amended. But if it retards national development then the way has to be cleared. Many bad things are being perpetrated under cover of certain clauses in the constitution relating to fundamental rights and payment of compensation. These things chain us. We have fallen into the hands of legal purists".

From the context it is clear that you referring to:-

1. Article 31(2) of our constitution relating to fundamental rights of citizen, relating to property.

2. Section 8 (b) of the West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act (Act XXI) of 1948 restricting compensation to 1946 ceiling price in case of acquisition for public purposes.

3. The recent judgment of the Supreme Court upholding the judgment of the Calcutta High Court in State of West Bengal Vs. Bela Banerjee that acquisition of property without payment of full compensation is void.

Contd .....

Not many but all of us are of the view that the constitution is sacred, particularly that part relating to the Fundamental Rights of all citizens. We even hold that it is to safeguard these that the state exists and the Supreme Court also as the watchdog against any infringement to such fundamental rights eigher by the executive or the Legislatures.

At the same time we also hold that the Constitution is sacred only to extent it safeguards the rights of the individual and does not retard national progress. When such rights are infringed or national progress retarded, then, to use your expression, the way has to be cleared. But how is it to be done and with what as target?

It was published in the papers that the amendments to the Article 31 prepared by the Law Minister were placed before the Congress Working Committee. Every citizen and indeed everyone else too is vitally interested in any amendment to the fundamental rights. And yet things are being handled as if the Congress party alone is interested. To be able to get a measure through the party whip is one t ing and to justify it on merits and carry everyone with it is quite another. So far as the fundamental rights are concerned, not only those aliva but the generations unborn are equally interested. What is attempted to be "amended" is the very concept of property, right of individuals in a non-communist state, undue preference of one citizen to another and above all the place of the Supreme Court in a written Constitution vis a vis the Fundamental rights guaranteed thereunder.

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The relevant articles and sections are:-

Article 31(2) No property, moveable or immoveable, including any interest in, or in any company ~~owing~~ owning, any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purpose under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition, unless the law provides for compensation, unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of compensation, or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given.

Article 13(2) The State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the rights conferred by this part any law made in contravention of this clause shall, the extent of the contravention be void.

Relevant portion of Section 8 (b) of West Bengal Act XXI of 1948.
If such market value exceeds by any amount the market value of the land had been at that time in the State in which it in fact was on the date of publication of the said notification, the amount of such excess shall not be taken into consideration.

Article No. 14 The state shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.

In the particular context the question boils to this: In what way payment of compensation to those whose property is acquired for the genral welfare retards national welfare and how the judgment of the Supreme Court in interpreting the Article 31 read side by

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side with section 8 (b) of the Act XXI of 1948 can be said to chain us. Let it be remembered that though the occasion is settlement of Refugees, the issues concerns everyone; citizen or otherwise, who owns any kind of property, moveable or immoveable in any part of the Union of India now or at any distant future. According to "Displaced Persons - 1951 Census just released by the Office of the Registrar General of India 4.7 millions of came from West Pakistan as against 2.4 millions from East Pakistan; yet the rehabilitation of those from West Pakistan was done smoothly without having to amend the constitution.

Let it be remembered that those for the right to property acquisition may be made themselves value the right to property as much as those who may be deprived of it with inadequate compensation; the beneficiaries of acquisition will be placed in a position to alienate substantial profits the property acquired for them at less than market rate through the acquisition proceedings. For your information let me tell you that even at the time of writing this open letter many cultivators - Hindus and Muslims - are being deprived of even the 1946 rate (whatever) it may mean by distress selling for inability to hold on for about six years for total stoppage of all their economic activities for deprivation of land and/or produce in all areas the refugees have squatted. The competent authority has done nothing to relieve the distress of those who have been reduced to the position of refugees in their own state, bereft of land they are landless, these fine agriculturists, while the land they have sold remains fallow for want of

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cultivation.

Apart from this the others whose lands are sought to be acquired not for development but for the refugees under Sec.8(b) of Act XXI of 1948 have been paralysed from the time (the refugees came in their their midst and) the acquisition proceedings were announced but not yet completed. While the Refugees are maintained by loans and doles the owners of the land deprived of the use of their property have none to fall back upon. No Act now in force provides for the simultaneous payment of compensation to those who are deprived of their property pending providing by the Government of alternative accommodations to the squatters.

Let there be no mistake.

I am not a legal purist nor do I consider the man made constitution sacred as to consider it sacrosanct.

On the other hand I am one with you that it if retards national development than the way has to be cleared.

At the same time if you find me writing this letter, it is only because I claim to be second to none in the desire to advance national development and in stopping bad things being perpetrated under one or the other of the clauses of the constitution or Acts passed thereunder.

I wish, however, to ask you if it is necessary to cut the tree to gather the fruit. I am sure that your answer will be emphatic No. I am concerned to point out that it is not necessary to amend the constitution for the purpose we all have in view.

I am also concerned to point out that if amendments are made as

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under consideration, the remedy will be worse than the disease and above all I am concerned to convince those at the moment in favour of the amendment that we are only under pressure of temporary exigencies which will pass off only by better understanding between the citizen and the new comers and therefore we may have to repent at leisure what we may be doing in a hurry.

The basic objections against the proposed amendments are:-

1. The citizens as well as non-citizens are as much entitled to fair compensation as those in whom the properties acquired are sought to be vested.

2. It is not in the interest of ordered progress to delete from the concept of property atributes inalienable therefrom.

3. For the sake of national progress, it is not right to insist on one class of citizens to make sacrifices more than others, apart from what is laid on them by graddd income-tax and Estate duties.

4. The Supreme Court shall always be regarded as the defender of fundamental rights of citizens against the executive and the Legislature.

5. While we can understand amendments to the constitution to remove ambiguities or to close lacunae, in case their powers in relation to fundamental rights are interfered with, we are really muzzling the Supreme Court by preventing it from discharging its functions under the constitution.

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I submit in all humility that it is not necessary to amend the present constitution to Rehabilitate the Refugees, or serve any part of the nation. On the other hand varying the rights attaching to property and circumscribing the powers of the Supreme Court are likely to undermine the confidence in the integrity of the constitution and the powers of the Supreme Court as the protector of citizens' rights now or even of the future.

Yours faithfully,

Sd. H. Sarkar.

(H.L. Sarkar)
President West Bengal
Citizens' Assn.

Encl:

A PAPER CUTTING FROM THE STATESMAN LETTER TO THE EDITOR COLUMN
OF 14th instant

The Constitution.

Mr. Nehru's criticism, at a Bombay meeting on Oct.6, of opponents of amendments to the Indian Constitution, on the ground that it is sacred and should not be altered, is timely. In public speeches and in Parliament, some speakers do not make secret of their opposition to constitutional amendments, seldom realising, as Mr. Nehru has stated, that "if the constitution retards national development, then the way has to be cleared". He argued that many bad things are perpetrated under cover of certain clauses of the Constitution relating to fundamental rights and payments of compensation.

After all, a constitution is not an end in itself, but an means to an end; and, should any defect be discovered in the means in the course of its application for achievement of the end, it is only rational that it (the defect) be removed. Besides, framers of constitutions are not omnipotent: they are not supermen capable of foreseeing the shape of things to come.

However, it is most essential that when amendments are proposed we should summon a special session of Parliament, instead of taking up the matter at the usual sessions. In addition, ample pulicity should be given to the nature of the proposed amendments in order that public opinion in the country may be fully known and assessed in advance-

Yours -- S.C. Kakati,
Gauhati (Assam),
Oct. 12.

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Yours -- S.C. Kakati,
Gauhati (Assam),
Oct. 12.

My copy of a letter to the Editor, Statesman, published on 24th October.

CONSTITUTION.

Mr. Kakati has done a public service by drawing the attention of of your readers to our Prime Ministers criticism at a Bombay meeting on the 6th instant.

None will differ from the Prime Minister in his view that if the Constitution retards national development, the way has to be cleared. The only difference is what can be construed as retarding national development, how the way is to be cleared and what is going to be its target. There are amendments and amendments, some to remove ambiguities, others to close lacunae. But when an amendment is sought to be made which has the effect of curtailing the fundamental rights of citizens and the power of the Supreme Court to protect such rights against the executive and the Legislature, the issue assumes great importance. The prime Minister referred to one such.

Let it be remembered that in the eye of law no discrimination can be made between a citizen and a citizen and among those whose rights to compensation are sought to be taken away, there are and will be many no better than those on whose behalf the executive seek the powers by amending the Constitution which has the effect of over-riding the judgment of the Supreme Court.

Take for instance the judgment of the Supreme Court in Mrs. Bela Banerjee, a Hindu Widow, Vs. The State of West Bengal which sought to take away her property without adequate compensation. I imagine that under no constitution in the world can this be sustained and the Supreme Court fulfilled its true functions by declaring the

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action of the executive null and void.

Then again your issue of the 14th instant carries the news that the Constitutional Bench of the Supreme Court by a unanimous judgment hold the uttar Pradesh Road Transport Act of 1951 ultra vires of the Constitution as infringing the fundamental rights guaranteed under Article 19(1) and Article 31(2) of the Constitution.

The question arises does the State exist for the individual or the individuals for the State. ~~Even if the latter, should one or the individuals for the State.~~ Even if the latter, should one or one class be made to sacrifice their fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution for the benefit of another or other class? How can it be argued by any stretch of imagination that payment of equitable compensation to property owners, moveable or immoveable or a decision of the Supreme Court that this should be done will chain the state?

Assuming that the executive take the law in their own hands after certifying the existing public purposes is the Supreme Court bound by only the constitution in black and white, to ditto the action of the executive? Should the Supreme Court be influenced by consideration of party majority and minorit, in the Parliament? What is going to happen if the Supreme Court declares any amendment to the fundamenta rights curtailing them as null and void? It iscertainly within (al their powers to do so.

The issues are very momentous. Summoning of a special session of Parliament may be one way of dealing with the problem. But it is not the best. Democracies are subject to periodical epidamics and the party system is known to produce strange enactments under temporary stress and strain

Contd .....

The fundamental rights are of a category which should not permit of tampering with for any reason whatsoever. Our Constitution of our own making makes this abundantly clear.

Whether in any particular case they have been interfered with is a question for the Supreme Court and The Supreme Court alone to decide. Alternatively a referendum, without the party in power taking sides, alone will be an adequate way of ascertaining the public opinion after ample publicity. At any rate, it should never be decided as it is sought to be through the strength ~~the~~ of the party whip with next to nothing of advanced publicity.

H. L. Sarkar

Sd/- H.L. Sarkar.

The proposed amendment to the Article 31 of our Constitution

by

K.S. Sitaram

It is announced that various amendments to the above are under the consideration of the Congress Working Committee and of the Government of India. In view of the fact that they concern not merely one party but every citizen interested in his own fundamental rights and of the Supreme Court, the general public should have been taken into confidence particularly because the fundamental rights of the future citizens are also involved.

These relate to the most basic of fundamental rights, namely, to hold and enjoy properties of all categories and the right to compensation in the case of acquisition. These rights are guaranteed by our Constitution and have been upheld by the Supreme Court in a series of judgments, the latest being in the appeal of the State of West Bengal against the judgment of the Calcutta High Court in the State of West Bengal Vs. Bela Banerjee.

The operative part of the Article 31 embodies the individual's right guaranteed in other constitutions of the world relating to their property and is a repetition of Section 299 of the Government of India Act 1935.

Article 31 (1) (2) of our Constitution:

1. "No person shall be deprived of his property save by the authority of law.
2. No property moveable or immoveable, including any interest in, or in any company owning, any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purpose under any law authorising

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the taking of such possession of such acquisition, unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of the compensation, or specifies the principles on which, in the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given".

The protection offered extends to all kinds of property moveable or immoveable, situate in India and is not confined to citizens but extends to aliens as well.

The need for amendment:

This was felt at the time of third reading of this article by Hon'ble A.P. Jain and few others. On that occasion Hon'ble Mr. Ajit Prassad Jain, then not burdened with office, said: "Economically one has to look to Article 31 of the Fundamental rights, Except for the exception provided in the case of Zamindari rights in certain provinces and a few other minor changes this article reproduces Section 299 of the Government of India Act. It (the article) maintains the capitalistic structure of society with its enqualities of wealth and income. Perhaps under the existing state of our economic plight much of it is inevitable. But in the ultimate analysis this state of affairs cannot continue for long, As the Hon'ble Mr. Gadgil said the other day we shall have to make a fundamental change in the constitution of our society. We will have to nationalise many industries which to-day are held by private enterprise. Without that there cannot be any solution of our economic problem of national well being".

Excessive possession is distributed by laws of succession, excessive income is brought down by graded taxation and excessive accumulation [illegible] down by Death Duty. But inequality starting from personal

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personal qualifications can not be eleminated. The Zamindars in some states are relics of the past. But the looked for results even on o ficial admission, are missing.

The only question at issue is: should the interests adversely affected by acquisition be entitled to fair compensation or not, This assumed practical importance with incoming of the Refugees. This is not yet ended and the monumental Central Government Note on RE-ORGANISATION OF REHABILITATION IN WEST BENGAL of 8-9-54 takes full cognisance of the fact and has made provision therefor.

Earlier the West Bengal Government had passed the following Acts :

1. West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act XXI OF 1948.
2. West Bengal Act XVI of 1951 in force upto March 1954 extended for a further period of three years.
3. Section 8 of the 1948 Act provides that if the market value of such land (acquired for refugee Rehabilitation) exceeds by any amount the market value of the land on 31st day of December, 1946 on the assumption that the land had been at that date in the State in which it in fact was on the date of publication of the said notification such excess shall not be taken into consideration.

The Act of 1951 provides that a refugee in unauthorised occupation of any land shall not be evicted therefrom till the State provides for him alternative accommodation in the manner prescribed by the Act . There is no provision in that Act for payment of any compensation to the dispossessed lawful owner payable for his rights interfered with through the operation of the Act.

Bela Banerjee's Case :

One West Bengal Settlement Kanungoe Co-operative Credit Society was

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authorised to undertake a development scheme and the Government of West Bengal acquired and, made over certain lands to the Society in early part of 1950. The issues were:- The validity of the West Bengal Land development and Planning Act (21 of 1948) Section 8 provison (b) and validity of Constitution of India Act 31 (2) Measures of compensation - scope of legislative discretion principle which determines compensation which denies increment in value.

The Supreme Court held that :-

1. While the Legislature is given the discretionary power of laying down the principles which should govern the determination of the amount to be given to the owner of the property appropriated, such principles must ensure that what is determined as payable must be compensation. That is a just equivalent to what the owner has been deprived of.

2. Whether such principles take into account all the elements which make up the true value of the property appropriated and exclude matters which are to be neglected is a justiciable issue to be adjudicated by the court.

3. Considering that the West Bengal Act 21 of 1948 is a permanent enactment, and lands may be acquired under it many years after it came into force, the fixing of market value on December 31st 1946 as the ceiling on compensation under the latter part of it the provision Sect. 8 without reference to the of the land at the time of these acquisitions is arbitrary and cannot be regarded as due compliance in letter and spirit with the requirement of Article 31(2).

4. Any principle for determining compensation which denies the owner any increment in value cannot result in the ascertainment of true equivalent of the land appropriated.

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In a word the appeal of the Government of West Bengal against decision of the Calcutta High Court was dismissed with costs and it was held that the latter part d _ lso (b) to Sec.8 of the West Bengal Development Act which fixes the market value on December 31st 1946 as the maximum compensation for lands acquired under it offends against the provisions of Article 31(2) and is unconstitutional and void.

In the face of this judgment of the Supreme Court two alternative were open to the Government, Central and State: To acquire property for public purpose by payment of the compensation on the lines of law and equity, or, by methods in effect expropriatory.

With Hon'ble Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain as the Central Minister for Rehabilitation the latter course has been decided on. While there is a reference to it in the Central Government's memorandum of 8.9.54, there was confirmation that both the Government of West Bengal and and All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee have agreed to this in principle.

The basic nature of the issues :

The question arises if the rights of such nature should be taken away even to serve the noble purpose the Government have in view and what will be its effect on the rights not only of the owners of property in India. The most important of the constitutional issues is the nature of the fundamental rights and the place of the Supreme Court as the Watchdog of the basic rights against infringement not only by the Executive but by the legislatures with parties and majorities varying from time to time.

Right to Property

This is of the same genus as the right to life subject to the right of the Government to acquire for inductry, development etc. in time of

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peace and for defence in time of war technically called Eminent Domain. But Government's power to acquire is not the same as the denial of fair compensation to the person adversely affected. At the same time the constitutional guarantee of compensation is not a limitation upon the powers of the State to take but only a condition of its exercise.

Equity of the case:

The effects of clauses 1 & 2 of our Constitution are that any deprivation of a man's property, not sanctioned by law, constitutes a wrong. But when the law professes to take property for "public purpose" there is a right to compensation. A law which comes within the scope of clause (2) but does not provde for compensation would be void, subhect to clauses (4-6) of Act 31 and Acts 31A-31B.

Compensation means that the owner should be put in as good a position financially as he should have been if his property had not been taken. He is therefore entitled to the full and perfect equivalent of the property taken, damages, inflicted by the taking as well as the interest on the value of the property taken. The owners' loss is to be measured by the fair market value on the date of the taking.

The Principal as to why compensation must be paid for acquisition of property for public use can hardly be better explained that in the words of Blackstone:

"So great is the regard of the law for private property that it will not authorise the least violation of it, no, not even for the general good of the whole community". The justification of the acquisition of private property for public purposes is that the interests of the public are paramount, and that in some cases, private interests have to be subordinated to public interests and the necessities of the

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of the Government. But the dispossessed have to be compensated, for one individual whose property is taken should not be compelled to contribute towards the public expenditure more than any other.

Quantum of Compensation:

The measurement of compensation is the value to the seller of the property in its actual condition at the time of appropriation with all its existing advantages but excluding to the carrying out of the scheme for which the property is compulsorily acquired.

The present constitution does not qualify the word compensation fair or just. Just compensation is a matter for the Courts and not for the Legislature or the Executive.

The function of the supreme Court in our Constitution :

The historic precedent and experience have moulded various constitutions. The English Parliament had to contend against executive tyranny and evolved a sovereignty which placed parliament even over the courts. With an essentially unwritten constitution, they have evolved a legislative sovereignty. With a written constitution from the beginning and the experience of many other countries with declaration of fundamental rights, the framers of the American Constitution were apprehensive of the tyranny not only of the executive but also of the legislature swayed by party majorities or temporary conditions.". A Government which holds the lives, the liberty and the property of its citizens, subject at all times to the absolute despotism and unlimited control of even the most democratic depository of power is after all but a depotism". In a word U.S.A. has a judicial supremacy as against the supremacy of the English Parliament.

The Indian Constitution, on the other hand, seeks to strike a balance

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between a writen guarantee of individual rights and the collective interests of the community. So far as the provisions of the contitutional limitations are concerned, they are beinding both on the Executive and on the Legislature and Courts shall be competent to declare a law as void on the ground of contravention of these rights, as in the United States.

Conclusion:

The writer is second to none in his admiration for what all the Central Government and the State Government are doing for the Refugees. When the history of the country comes to be written it should occupy as a place as several of the achievements of our Government.

But what he is not equally certain about is the need to alter the basic conceptions of property or to deprive certain people of the benefits of ownership, particularly when among them are many no better than Refugees. As the Refugees themselves value the property rights the Government seek to vest in them, none will be found even among them to support the amendment of Article 31 of the Constitution. the Government seem to have set their hearts upon.

Should the Government proceed with legislation expropriatory in effect, if in so doing they not only deprive some of their basic fundamental rights and what is even more important, use their majority of the moment to circumscribe the power of the Supreme Court and to lessen their use as the Supreme guardian of the individual's rights under the constitution - a safeguard not only to the future majorities but also to minorities facing executive or legislative oppression?

-: ********** :-

S. SITARAM.

6/1, Commissariat Rd.,
Hastings, Calcutta-22

The Editor,
The Statesman,
Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

Re: **The Supreme Court.**

A separate building for this august Body was long overdue. It is heartening to read that the building the foundation stone of which was laid by our President yesterday will be ready by 1957. During its sojourn at Parliament House the Supreme Court as built up a great tradition hard to equal.

More (notx less) important than the building is the real supremacy of the Court that is to sit there. Four outstanding leaders of the 6th, 23rd and the 29th instant and our President have drawn public attention to a tendancy to lay down provisions in Acts "Ousting the Jurisdiction of Courts to interpret the law" leaving it to the Executive to determine its meaning. In expressing his belief that except in rare case it should not be resorted to in order to avoid inconvenience to the executive, our President has voiced the opinion not only of every individual citizens but of all valuing constitutional property.

If the Supreme Court is to discharge its functions by the Constituion and live upto the symbol of the [illegible] all parties entitled to appear before it should be anxious to uphold its authority, by honouring its judgments. It is very unfortunate that one of the parties restrained by its judgment, namely, the executive, is seeing to extend the "fundamental right" clauses to curtail the rights of the citizens and the powers of the Supreme Court alike.

Constitutionally speaking these are not matters for either

Contd .....

the states or the country to decide.

I do not know which of these represents the latest position:

1) UPI report of the 30th ultimo published by you quoting our Prime Minister as saying that he envisaged the introduction of more important amendments to the Constitution by the next (November) session of Parliament, 2) Your statement as the leader of the ~~New~~ 29th instant that " at present the state Governments are being consulted by the ~~Centre~~ "Centre".

From your special representative's report of the 26th ultimo and the reported speech of Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru at Vaitarana on the 6th ultimo, it is clear that a decision has already been on the 6th ultimo, it is clear that a decision has already been taken. These are his significant words. Many people are of the view that the Constitution is sacred and should not be amended But if it retards national development then the way has to be cleared. Many bad things are being perpetrated under cover of certain clauses in the Constitution, relating to fundamental rights and payments of compensation. These things chain us". We have fallen into the hands of legal purists".

~~HE~~ is our Prime Minister and President of the Congress rolled into one.

None questions the power of the Congress majority to put the amendments on the Statute Book. The question is only on its wisdom, constitutional propriety and consequences. The amendments proposed by the Law Minister have been placed only before the Congress Working Committee and not at all before the general public, each one of whom is vitally interested therein.

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Your leading articles and the letters addressed to you by Mr. H.M.Sarkar and Mr. R.J. Venkateswaran point to other implications and consequences.

The Supreme Court's view may not be ascertainable except on a specific reference. But none interested in ordered progress can close his eyes to Article 13(2) of the Constitution reading as under:-

" The State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the right conferred by this part (Part III-Fundamental rights) and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of the contravention, be void".

The only way to avoid this contingency, which is not remote, is to drop the proposed amendments. Any other alternative based on mere party majority however overwhelming can only invite conflict between the executive and the Supreme Court for which the Executive alone will be responsible.

The issues are grave. If they have to be faced why not now - and rightly? It is better to pause and look first before leaping instead of reversing the process.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- K.S. Sitaram.

SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION

I

NATURE AND PURPOSES OF CONSTITUTIONS—Distinction from statutes —Permanancy and Generality of a Constitution — The contents of The Constitution — THE MAKING OF CONSTITUTION — THE CONSTITUENT POWER— The founders of a State and its original Constitution — who the founders of State? — Social contract theories — THE AMENDING POWER — Can the constituent power itself be brought within the Constitution? THE MAKING OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION — The Indian Independence Act, 1947 as the source of the Indian Constitution — The scope of the authority of the Constituent Assembly as derived from this source — Adoption and amendment of Constitutions.

II

PREAMBLE OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA — Particularly the opening words, "We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitut India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic" and the closing words "In our Constituent Assembly . . . . do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution;" — with special reference to the formation and authority of the Constituent Assembly — How far it is correct to say that "the Constitution of 1949 derives its validity from the Indian Independence Act, 1947" — Was its adoption by the people of India necessary? — If so, has it been so adopted — making of the American Constitution compared and contrasted.

III

GUARANTEES OF THE CONSTITUTION — Distribution of the powers of Government — The Necessity of separation of powers — the organ least dangerous to the political rights of the Constitution — The Institution of judicial review.

IV

THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES — Their essential character — — transformation of some fundamental institutions of human society — its bearing on the fundamental rights — fundamental rights, if can be limited in any way by the Constitution? Scope of judicial review in this respect — the judicial function in relation to social problems.

Cuttack - Dec 16

Mr Nehru declared here to-day in India a nation was growing into a Power in science and peace and in its own pattern.

However much "a few of our countrymen" slandered their own motherland, "we are going to be an industrial people", with unity and with essential - for the development of a peaceful but strong, ever progressing country.

It was a matter of regret, Sri Nehru said, that "our own people of this Orissa" our achievements. They might with the Government of the day or the Congress party. But it was most deplorable that they should Orissans what their own countrymen had done - for the welfare of the country. In America, Russia and other foreign countries people did not Orissans the good things the Government had done for the people. But unfortunately in this country Orissa Cannot Cattle to understand what was happening in their own land. They always turned to foreign countries to study their achievements.

sity, to-day, Mr. M. Patanjali Sastri, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, referred to the move to amend the Indian Constitution and urged that the people's verdict should be obtained before any important amending Bill was introduced in Parliament.

Mr Patanjali Sastri, in the course of his address, advised the new graduates that they should "not only cultivate the essential qualities of good citizenship, but also study the Constitution of our country which our founding fathers have framed after deep and prolonged deliberation. It is an error to think that the Constitution is a matter which concerns only lawyers, litigants and politicians. An intelligent and informed public opinion is an essential pre-requisite for the proper functioning of the democratic process. It behoves every citizen to be vigilant to see that the cherished basic rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution are not whittled down or taken away."

"The Constitution", he said "is not an ordinary piece of legislation but is the fundamental law to which all laws passed by the legislatures in the country have to conform. While ordinary laws reflect the aims and objectives of this or that political group which commands a majority in the legislatures for the time being, the Constitution is not to be identified with the principles or programme of any particular political party. It reflects the national will based upon the greatest common measure of agreement among groups of different ways of thinking with varying interests to be protected. This is especially true of that part of the Constitution which enshrines what are called the Fundamental Rights, which are justly regarded as being inherent in the status of a free citizen in any civilised society.

COMPULSORY ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY

Referring to amendments of the Constitution, Mr. Patanjali Sastri said: Our Constitution has hardly been in operation for five years when it has already been amended several times and more amendments are said to be in the offing. For in stance, if Press reports are true, it is now proposed to amend the provision for payment of compensation on compulsory acquisition of private property by making compensation discretionary and non justiciable that is not open to question in a Court of Law. It is hardly necessary to labour the point that the proposed amendment, if enacted, would strike at the root of the constitutional protection of private property, which is one of the most important fundamental rights guaranteed to the people.

In the present political conditions in the country, experience has shown that the safeguard provided against frequent amendment of the Constitution has proved inadequate and, perhaps a convention could be established whereby constitutional amendments of great importance to the community should be specifically placed before the people and their verdict obtained at the next following general election before the amending Bill is introduced in Parliament. No great harm could result from such procedure as the delay involved would not be much. On the other hand it may tend to obviate a feeling of grievance among those sections of the community who do not favour the change that the passage of the amendment was secured by an unwarranted use of party majority without the issue having been squarely placed before the people.

Mr. Patanjali Sastri drew pointed attention to the "biggest electorate in any democratic State, created by our Constitution and stressed the unifying features in it. He said: Our Constitution although federal in form and structure provides but a single citizenship for all Indians in whatever constituent State in India they happen to reside. In this respect, it deviates from the Federal Constitution of the U.S.A. which recognises a dual citizenship. Thus we are all citizens of India, not the citizens of Delhi, Bombay or Madras, and it is a fundamental right of every citizen to move freely throughout the territory of India and to reside and settle in any part of such territory. These provisions are designed to promote national unity, by breaking down any barriers which narrow-minded provincialism may interpose.

NATIONAL UNITY

"Mere constitutional provisions however, will not make us united and strong. We must have the will and determination to make our national unity a reality by shedding our parochial outlook, regional loyalties, and communal mentality. We are passing through a critical and transitional period in our country's history. The international situation is pretty grave and the cold war shows no signs of abating. There is thus no room for complacence, and for all the tireless efforts of our Prime Minister in the cause of peace, and our policy of neutralism our newly-won freedom may be in jeopardy. It behoves you, therefore, my young friends, as the enlightened citizens of the rising generation to build up our national unity by putting the country's interests above minor personal and group interests and feeling that you are Indians first and always.

The former Chief Justice of India then dwelt on the importance of spreading knowledge of Hindi, the national language but deprecated the tendency in some quarters to force the pace in that direction, even before that language has attained sufficient development. He said, "I would respectfully suggest to our Hindi enthusiasts to bend their energies to develop a vocabulary of technical, scientific, legal and administrative terms of sufficient richness variety and flexibility to make it a suitable vehicle of modern scientific and cultured thought.

ROLE OF ENGLISH

"Many persons of light and leading have protested against too hasty a substitution of English by Hindi or any other language for the purposes of higher education, administration, legislation, etc. Our national unity, such as it is, would not have been what it is to-day, had it not been for the adoption of English as the common language of the whole country for the above purposes. It must continue to play the same role as heretofore as our common medium of expression until such time means to divert our young men from aimlessly drifting into the Universities and to canalise their energies and efforts in the direction of their finding suitable employment at the end of their studies and training. While a general level of liberal education which broadens the outlook and refines the mind should not be neglected by any of the Universities, they could, with advantage, specialise in selected subjects. It is also necessary, if the standard of education and the quality of our teachers are to be improved, that the emoluments and status of the teaching profession should be raised. The teachers for their part, should not, I suggest in all humility, aspire to the level of emoluments obtaining in some of the other professions, such as law and medicine or in the administrative services. It must be remembered that those professions involve risks and failures to many, and in the administrative services not all get high salaries. Teachers are expected to be content with emoluments reasonably related to decent living conditions in the country. Only men imbued with a sense of dedication and with a flair for teaching and an aptitude for plain living and high thinking should enter the teaching profession by deliberate choice."

CHAIR FOR SANSKRIT

Mr Patanjali Sastri deplored the fact that in many of our Universities, there was no chair for Sanskrit learning. Sanskrit" he said, "is the language in which lie embedded the priceless treasures of our ancient and unbroken culture. There are chairs for Sanskrit study in many of the Western Universities and we are told that Sanskrit is taught even in Tokyo and Leningrad. In such circumstances it is sad to find that even in this University in the capital of the country which is the home of Sanskrit learning there is no chair for the study of Sanskrit. I earnestly appeal to our wealthy countrymen to lose no time in endowing a chair in this University for a central and scientific study of Sanskrit language and literature. It ought to be the prerogative of this University to lead the way in such matters. Sanskrit should be made a compulsory subject of study in our schools and colleges in any scheme of reorganisation of courses of study. Sanskrit alone can be the medium of our common Indian culture as distinguished from regional cultures in the various linguistic areas. If we look ahead and envisage a time not far distant, when English will have faded out from the Indian scene except among a few small circles of its votaries, the only means of access to high class literature for our educated classes will be Sanskrit and it is time that our educational authorities took steps to instruct our young men in that language to prepare them for that day.

Mr Patanjali Sastri also pleaded for the establishment of chairs for the study of Hindu religion and Philosophy and of Islam and Islamic culture. He suggested that a Muslim benefactor could endow a chair for Hindu Religion and Philosophy and a Hindu one for Islam and its culture. Such acts would do more to cement Hindu Muslim relations in independent India than exhortations and admonitions by our leaders.

BRITAIN'S TRADE POLICY

MR. AMERY'S WARNING

LONDON, Dec 9

Mr L S Amery, President of Empire Industries Association, said to-day the British Government had gone back on half a century of Conservative policy and thrown overboard the principles of imperial economic co-operation.

Mr Amery writing in the Association's December bulletin, said Imperial Preference was no longer Britain's lifeline. That position was taken over by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in its most rigid form.

He said GATT was a denial of the right of the Commonwealth to exist as far as economic co operation was concerned. He claimed that the argument of Mr Peter Thorneycroft, President of the Board of Trade that the Dominions showed a negative attitude towards trade co operation was a pretext.

It covered the fact that the Treasury and Board of Trade had persuaded themselves that Britain's future lay not in a policy of empire development but in trading which, they thought, could be secured through a combination of GATT and convertibility.

Mr Amery claimed the main danger to Britain's exports was from dumped surplus of America's mass production and in the lower wages of the continent and Japan, which on GATT principles could not be excluded from British and Commonwealth markets for long.

"The new GATT and convertibility policy is, in any case, bound to break down in the long run. It will break down suddenly and disastrously if there is anything like a serious American or world recession in the next two or three years," he said.

F.A.O. MISSION IN INDIA

WASHINGTON Dec 11

The appointment of Mr Howard E. Houston Commissioner of Welfare for Connecticut for the past year, as Deputy Director of the FAO mission to India, was announced to-day by Mr. Harold E. Stassen, Director of Foreign Operations.

Mr Houston former Mayor of Meriden, who has spent more than 17 years in the welfare field is scheduled to reach New Delhi sometime after the first of the year. He will be Deputy to Mission

KASHMIR.

The dispute on the future of Kashmir between the two neighbouring states, which were until quite recently one nation, has so far defied all attempts at a satisfactory settlement.

A couple of years ago I ventured to put forward a concrete proposal which seemed to me to meet all points of view to a reasonable extent -- namely, those of India, Pakistan, and of the Kashmiris, whose existence is apt to be overlooked in this controversy.

Briefly, the suggestion was that a partition of the state was inevitable (indeed it already exists) and it should be effected on a trilateral basis --

(a) The Azad Kashmir at present held by Pakistan going to Pakistan with the addition of Poonch, almost the entire population of which is Moslem, while geographically, too, it is closely linked to Pakistan.

(b) The districts of Jammu and Ladakh being retained by India. and

(c) The Vale of Kashmir, which is the real bone of contention, going to neither.

This area, with its 1½ million inhabitants, could be formed into a separate autonomous state and left in the hands of the Kashmiris themselves, without interference from either India or Pakistan. This state would not be an independent one in the sense that it would have an army of its own or have any dealings with any foreign power barring its two immediate neighbours -- India and Pakistan. It would be some thing like an Indian state in the British days, though it would have no Suzerain. It could become a happy meeting place for visitors from both countries and elsewhere.

This proposal was made by me in consultation with the late Sir B. N. Rau, who was India's representative at the Security Council when this question came before it. He was previously Prime Minister of Kashmir. It had his full support. It did not, however, prove acceptable to India and had to be dropped. Now that discussions are being resumed once more, but still with little or no prospect of success as far as one is able to judge, may I appeal to both the Prime Ministers to consider my proposal in a dispassionate spirit. I feel that they would find it deserving of their consideration. What would be the alternative ? A reference once again to the Security Council, and we know what this means.

It seems a pity that the dispute should be allowed to drag on and continue to poison relationship. Both sides stand to gain so much by an amicable settlement that each should be willing to give up a little in order to gain a great deal. They are both interested in the people of the valley, and should feel no regret or hesitation in doing something for their benefit; and in benefitting them they will be ridding themselves of a problem which, if allowed to continue indefinitely, will land them in unpredictable difficulties. Once this question is settled to their mutual satisfaction all other matters pending between them will admit of an easy solution. The relationship between the two countries will enter a new phase, and will undergo a transformation that will make everyone devoutly glad.

MIRZA ISMAIL.
6.5.1956

3 Copies

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6-5-1958

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE SUEZ CANAL DISPUTE.

Egypt's sovereignty over the Canal should be formally recognized and also her ownership, subject to the payment of adequate compensation to the Canal Company.

An advisory body of seven persons (or perhaps more) should be set-up to help Egypt in running the Canal, Egypt being in immediate control of it. For after all it is her property, (though others may wish, quite rightly, to share in the use and enjoyment of it).

The function of the board would be to advise Egypt in the operation and administration of the waterway and to make suggestions in all matters pertaining to it. Egypt would be expected to accept its advice; when differences of opinion arise they should be referred to an arbitral commission, appointed by the International Court at The Hague, for final decision. Care would have to be taken to see that the reference is disposed of with the least delay. The board would be called advisory but it would practically function as a supervisory body. On this would be represented the U.S.A., U.K., and France, with three or more other countries such as India. Sweden, and Australia and also Russia. (It might not be possible to keep her out). This plan would, it seems to me, go a long way to satisfy Egypt's amour propre while placing the effective control of the canal in the hands of an international body.

I happened to discuss this question with the Egyptian Ambassador in Brussels a few days ago. I explained the proposal to him and he appeared to think that it would be acceptable to his Government.

I am afraid the latest idea of an Association of users is hardly likely to be accepted by Egypt for it would directly affect her dignity and would virtually amount to the abandonment of control over the waterway. I don't think it should be forced on her. A peaceful, long-term, and really workable solution is the aim, and there is world opinion, which has also to be satisfied. A proper solution of the problem will lead to more, not less, amiable relations with Egypt, but Nasser will have to give up his frantic ambitions.

MIRZA ISMAIL
12.10.1956

Mr Hammarskjold put forward his own plan on October 24, a week before hostilities began. This would have left Egypt operating the Canal, but would have provided machinery for arbitration of differences with the "users" -- a term Mr. H. did not define.

However, the plan would have permitted users to withhold payment of bills if Egypt, on the certification of the arbitration organ, refused to comply with the arbitration decision.

N. Y. TIMES.
Jany. 13, 1957

لایق نہ بود قطرہ بہ عمان بردن
خار و خس صحرا بہ گلستان بردن

لیکن چہ کنم کہ ہم موران باشد
پائے ملخ پیش سلیمان بردن

Excerpts from an article on "Age of Science" N.S.
published in the New York Times Nov 10, 1957.
Mohammad Zafar Walid Raza.

(1) The entire world — except perhaps for America is aware that the future belongs to the nation with the best technical brains. It is security, weaponry, not masses of brave men, that will win wars. It is technology, not craftsmanship or knack, that makes economic power. We are losing a war in brain as yet fought & strength in brain as yet employed.

ILLUSION OF DEMOCRACY.

Plain speaking by Bhave.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave is of opinion that modern democracy has in practice become rule by mediocrity. He says majority rule is not capable of producing the best and ideal government.

Writing in the "Bhudan", an English weekly organ of the Bhudan movement, Acharya Bhave points out that today authority is concentrated in the hands of the few at the top. He warns that "to allow so much power to get concentrated in the hands of one man or a few men is dangerous".

He compares modern political leaders to shepherds and the people to sheep and asks How long are the people going to be dependent upon shepherds and behave like sheep ?

Depending upon shepherds means, that by themselves. the people are helpless. he says.

He compares the role of people in modern democracy to that of the bullocks of an agriculturist. An agriculturist never consults his pair of bullocks as to whether he should sow paddy or wheat. He makes his own decision. Similarly a handful of men at the top take decisions and the people accept them.

Politics, he writes further has assumed exaggerated importance.

"We seem to look upon it as a master key for all our social problems. Politicians are being boosted and their speeches are being given exaggerated importance. The periodical exercise of the right of vote by the people and the theory that because of this that the people are the real masters, he describes, as "one of our modern illusions".

IRAQI MURDER.

Sir, -- Our moral degradation is clear from the fact that the elite of the world have not even expressed their horror at the cold-blooded murder of the young King of Iraq in his own palace, in the presence of his womenfolk, by men whom he had appointed to protect him and his country. No country, not even Gandhiji's India, has expressed its disapproval of such barbarous acts. The dictum that "a King can do no wrong" is true even today. For, none can deny that the young King had acted on the advice of his Prime Minister. For this, to shoot down the helpless King is an atrocious crime. Yet, no Ulemah has condemned the act as Un-islamic and our Prime Minister has extenuated this murder as "nationalism"! He is enunciating a dangerous doctrine. The fact that Iraq had joined Pakistan in the Baghdad Pact against us should not blind India to the cowardly and bloody act of the Army men of Iraq. All these countries, which shake the hands of the murderers who sit in the Palace of the murdered young King, share the guilt of that crime before God and man. The General Secretary of U.N.O. should be congratulated by decent men on declining to accept even before the King's blood had become cold any other representative than the one who had been sent by the dead King to that Organisation.

S. R. NARAYANA AYYAR,
Advocate.

Coonoor.

"Indian Express",
24.7.1958.

SEARCHLIGHT ON KASHMIR

(By Sir Kenneth Fitze, Author of 'Twilight of the Maharajas', and formerly of the Indian Political Service).

The continuance of the "Kashmir" controversy on the agenda of the United Nations and the disastrous effects of its prolonged aggravation upon ~~the economics of~~ both India and Pakistan seem to justify an attempt to review it, from what is perhaps a fresh point of view, in the light of the historical events of 1846 and 1947.

By 1818 the East India Company had practically completed its avowed object of uniting all the Indian States "in a bond of peace under the British power." By that time no State in India except the Sikh kingdom established by the great Ranjit Singh could claim independence. It was not until after his death in 1839 that the Sikhs defied the company's prohibition of an extension of their domains and provoked a disastrous war.

Thereafter, in view of their inability to pay the indemnity demanded, they agreed to cede a large portion of their territory, including the Vale of Kashmir. The British authorities, reluctant to accept responsibility for its administration, assigned the ceded territories to Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu, Chief of the martial tribe of Dogras inhabiting a corner of the Punjab, who had rendered valuable services in the recent campaign in return for his undertaking to pay the indemnity. By a Treaty of 1846, Gulab Singh became the first Maharaja of the new State of Jammu and Kashmir. Four years later the second Sikh war extinguished the dynasty of Ranjit Singh and added the famous province of the Punjab to British India.

But for this pusillanimous process of making two bites at the Sikh cherry the troubles which arose in 1947 and have continued ever since would have been avoided. Instead, the whole area of the new State - except Jammu which would probably have acceded automatically to India - would equally with the Punjab, have been available for equitable allocation between the two new Dominions.

The actual course of events in 1947 has been made clear by the vivid and detailed narrative in the book Integration of the Indian States by Mr. V. P. Menon, the official who represented the Government of India in their dealings with the Maharaja. It is hardly surprising that this unfortunate Ruler should have failed to make a timely and reasoned decision on the conflicting claims of India and Pakistan to absorb his dominions. The choice which he eventually made was dictated by inexorable circumstances. A horde of fierce Pathans from Pakistan was approaching Srinagar, his summer capital in the Vale. Most of his own troops had mutinied or gone over to the invaders. Inevitably he turned to India for help but was told that troops could not be sent into what was technically an independent country. Nevertheless the authorities in Delhi, who, only a few weeks before, had authorised Lord Mountbatten to inform the Maharaja that "India would not take it amiss if he acceded to Pakistan", were galvanised into feverish activity by this unlooked for opportunity of obtaining His Highness's signature on a Deed of Accession to India. He needed little persuasion to save himself and his family from the imminent prospect of massacre and took the road to Jammu with such movable property as could be hurriedly collected. Mr. Menon, flying busily to and fro from Delhi, found the palace at Jammu "in a state of turmoil with valuable articles strewn all over the place. The Maharaja, after driving all night, was asleep, having left instructions that if I failed to return it would mean that everything was lost and, in that case, his A.D.C. was to shoot him in his sleep". On waking from this troubled repose he found that Mr. Menon (who describes His Highness as having been "completely unnerved by his sense of lone helplessness") had the vital document ready for signature. He was subsequently informed that the accession of his State to India was accepted, subject to the proviso that the wishes of the inhabitants should be ascertained as soon as the invaders had been driven back to Pakistan. The requirements of this latter qualification still remain to be fulfilled thus affording a plausible reason for which the holding of a plebiscite continues to be stedfastly refused. The hurriedly organised airlift of Indian troops

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to Srinagar was followed by heavy fighting which led to the halting of the invasion and, in due course, the proclamation of an armistice.

The events of 1846 had converted the insignificant and mainly Hindu principality of Jammu into a miniature, but multi-racial, empire. Jammu itself lies in the foothills of the Himalayas, but the remainder of the State is a tangled mass of stupendous mountains separated here and there by valleys inhabited by people of widely varying cultural, linguistic and racial traditions.

Apart from the great roads which ran from the Vale of Kashmir into Pakistan and Jammu, and an aerodrome at Srinagar, there were practically no modern communications, and the remoter provinces, such as Mohammedan Gilgit and Buddhist Ladakh, could be reached only by weeks of marching through deep valleys and over lofty passes. From such areas the Maharaja was visualised, if at all, as an utterly remote and alien figure, uninterested except in so far as their mere existence contributed to his grandeur. The mountain routes which connected them with his headquarters were liable to become impassable in winter. Even the great road over the Banihal Pass which linked the summer and winter capitals was subject to such obstruction and, if the crisis of October 1947 had come a few weeks later, the escape of the Maharaja and his family to Jammu might not have been practicable

The brief title of "Kashmir' for this ramshackle empire is thus as inaccurate and misleading as would be the use of the word "England' to connote not only the whole of Great Britain but also all the possessions of the British Crown which are still controlled from Whitehall. Kashmir proper is simply the lovely mid-Himalayan Vale traversed by the upper waters of the river Jhelum, the area of which, about 100 miles long and 40 miles broad, is less than one twentieth of the whole State.

That grandly unorthodox missionary Canon Tyndale Biscoe who, more than any other Englishman, deserves to be remembered there, once wrote of the far-famed wonders which through the ages have attracted 'conquerors from neighbouring nations who ruthlessly trampled 'upon and harried the Kashmiris till their spirit was broken'.

It is tragic indeed that, when the Vale which had so long been an appanage of the Moghul emperors, lay, during the Sikh wars, at the mercy of their European successors the prize was faintheartedly relinquished in favour of a dynasty which, whatever its virtues may have been, was neither tolerant nor progressive. Resentment of Hindu domination was by 1947 so widespread that it was in the last degree improbable that all the differing racial and territorial communities which composed the State would ever formulate an authoritative demand for, or acquiescence in, accession to India.

Judged by the standards of other Hindu principalities the Dogra dynasty was the merest mushroom - and artificially cultivated at that. But even when the Maharaja, apparently unwilling ever again to confront his subjects, had become an exile in Bombay, those who were so anxious to complete the absorption of his haphazard conglomeration of territories into the fabric of India, appreciating the value of the dynasty as the only unifying factor, brought back his youthful son and heir to Srinagar and installed him by ostensibly democratic processes as the figurehead of the new regime. Nor did they hesitate to improve upon nature by providing that accessibility as between India and the State which had previously been lacking. The great mountain barrier which separates Jammu from the Vale has been pierced by a tunnel already able to carry road traffic throughout the year and designed eventually to link India and Kashmir by rail.

Such, in broad outline, are the main factors underlying this interminable controversy. In the light of them it is not difficult to propound an ideal solution. Plebiscites should be held, not for the whole State, but for its individual provinces, and it might confidently be expected that this would lead to that equitable and logical distribution of territory, as between India and Pakistan, which the Maharaja was unable to contemplate.

Only in respect of the Vale of Kashmir might there be a

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modification of this procedure. Its inhabitants, among whom, in spite of centuries of oppression, there are probably still some smouldering sparks of national pride, might be given an opportunity to vote for independence as an alternative to absorption in India or Pakistan. In that event the integrity and neutrality of the new State thus created would have to be guaranteed by their powerful neighbours who, even now, would be well advised to substitute friendly co-operation for bitter rivalry. That consummation would provide the Indian sub-continent with an Arcadian paradise in which people from both the great Dominions could meet on neutral soil for recreation and the cultivation of mutual understanding.

Such an arrangement would furnish at least a belated and solitary instance of fulfilment of the pronouncements of British Ministers that in the new India "the States will be entirely free to choose either to associate with one or other of the new Dominions or to stand alone". After their description by Lord Mountbatten on the very eve of the transfer of power as "technically and legally independent" it was surely wrong to insist, in any instance where circumstances might indicate a possibility of separate survival, on accession to either India or Pakistan.

So far as the State of "Jammu and Kashmir" is concerned, only the Vale, with its fertile fields, rich forests, skilled craftsmen, hydro-electric resources, and world-wide appeal to tourists and sportsmen, could fulfil this requirement. Nor need its remoteness from the sea be a disqualification. In order to maintain a free highway from Srinagar for overland trade with Central Asia a commercial treaty in 1870 conferred upon the State the privilege of securing a refund of British Indian sea customs duties on all imported goods arriving there in bond. This treaty lapsed with the "transfer of power" in 1947 but, if an atmosphere of goodwill could be created, its provisions might well be revived.

The framing of a constitution for the new State would be no easy matter, but there seems no reason why a workable solution could not be found somewhere between the two extremes typified by the European examples of Switzerland and Monaco.

In a matter which demands searchings of heart in so many quarters none of the parties concerned can afford to be complacent. From Britain some measure of penitent compassion might be expected for people whose ancestors were treated by her in 1846 as human merchandise in a rather shady political deal. India might well reflect that her reliance on the Maharaja's signature in 1947 is open to question on the ground of the completely unbalanced state of his mind at that time and also because he was left to discover by bitter experience that there was no intention to renew the dynastic guarantee cancelled by the withdrawal of British suzerainty which had, in effect, deprived him of his title deeds. For Pakistan there has been the disconcerting discovery that her failure to restrain or curb aggression by her most turbulent elements afforded to India a heaven-sent opportunity for securing the formal accession of a State which would otherwise undoubtedly have disintegrated.

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